LABOR'S STRESS TEST D.D. GUTTENPLAN ‖ **A NEW RACIAL-JUSTICE ERA** NATHALIE BAPTISTE

THE Nation.

The West Coast Fights Back Against Trump

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Letters

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The Power of the Peacemakers

The walls of the "Hanoi Hilton" are lined with pictures of American students protesting the war. The clear message conveyed is that the good people of the United States were against the belligerent, unjust actions of their government. In "The Forgotten Power of the Vietnam Peace Movement" [Jan. 30], Tom Hayden insightfully makes the case that the antiwar movement made a valuable contribution to the molding of public opinion against the war. It is also clear that this movement greatly contributed to the positive, constructive postwar relationship between Vietnam and the United States. Contrary to President Richard Nixon's denigration of the protesters as anti-American and disloyal, the broad-based antiwar movement led by Hayden and others fostered American interests in the postwar period. It would be a well-deserved tribute if our government recognized these leaders and their valuable contributions.

Daniel Silverman
Brooklyn

I don't wish to take issue with the words of Tom Hayden, a (deceased) hero of the opposition to the Vietnam War, but I can't let his comments on drones go unchallenged. To conclude that drone wars, by lessening casualties, display the power of the peace movement and represent a major achievement for it—well, the wily scoundrels just outsmarted us. We should not be proud of that.

Bette McDevitt
Pittsburgh

Language Matters

"The Serfdom of the Press" [Jan. 30] has all the hallmarks of Eric Alterman's typically incisive, erudite, and plainspoken critical punch. As usual, I found myself both disquieted and entertained by the dangerous absurdities that he diagnoses with such acumen. (The reference to Charlie Brown elicited an uncomfortable chuckle.)

I was surprised, however, by one turn of phrase that seems wholly unnecessary. In a column that calls to task the spurious demonizing of American Muslims after 9/11 by Donald Trump, why rely on the misapplied reference to an "anti-journalist jihad" launched by Trump and his cable-news lackeys? Turning the term "jihad" back on those who themselves use it to castigate an entire religious community may make for a pithy rhetorical strategy, but it also reinforces the association between Muslims and fanatical rampage, however ironically intended. A related cost is the neglect of the prominent Islamic interpretation of "jihad" as primarily an inward-directed effort aimed at cultivating personal integrity within a reasoned field of ethics—which is to say, the kind of behavior that Alterman rightly enjoins upon journalists in these troubled times. Contributors to *The Nation* might consider avoiding the term "jihad" as a moral takedown.

Oren Kosansky
Portland, Ore.

Eric Alterman Replies

Thanks for taking the time to write this thoughtful note. I appreciate the advice and will do my best to incorporate it in the future.

Eric Alterman
New York City

Christianity, Facing Left

Confronting the increased need for "A Moral Bulwark" [Jan. 30], Elizabeth Bruenig laments that "there is no obvious political program or donor base for an incipient generation of left Christian activists and intellectuals." Yet it's not

letters@thenation.com

(continued on page 26)

The Nation.
since 1865

Hobby Lobby on Steroids

The religious right is more emboldened under Donald Trump's presidency than it has been in recent memory, thrilled by his Supreme Court nomination, his cabinet appointments, and his parroting of claims that religious freedom is under siege by the forces of political correctness. Based on his first few weeks in office, Christian-right activists are expecting that the president who owes them bigly for his surprise win will take a battering ram to the wall separating church and state.

The scope of their aspirations was revealed in a leaked draft executive order, obtained by the Investigative Fund at the Nation Institute and published at TheNation.com, that shocked constitutional scholars with its staggering breadth. The draft order—whose authenticity has not been disputed by the White House—would create unprecedented exemptions based on religious or purely "moral" objections to a person's sexual orientation, gender identity, and even private activity, such as getting an abortion or having sex while unmarried. Such an order would be *Hobby Lobby* on steroids, creating an opening for almost anyone—government workers, federally funded social-service organizations, small-business owners, and more—to refuse to hire, serve, or provide public accommodations to others merely by citing one's religious beliefs. By sanctioning such discrimination, the order would create a government rubber stamp for a particular religious view, in violation of the establishment clause of the First Amendment.

Religious-right leaders were quick to react with effusive praise, expressing confidence that Trump, despite progressive objections—or, perhaps, because of them—would sign the order. Ryan Anderson, a fellow at the conservative Heritage Foundation and a vociferous opponent of marriage equality, called on Trump to "stand up to the liberal outrage and hostility to ordinary American values that fueled his rise in the first place," hailing the order as "good, lawful public policy" that fulfills Trump's campaign promises to religious conservatives. Bryan Fischer, the incendiary American Family Radio host known for his unabashedly homophobic views, called the draft order a "masterpiece" and wrote that if Trump signed it, he would "flip the script" on the "radical homosexual agenda," allowing "religious liberty [to] now triumph over sexual deviancy for the first time in nearly a decade."

At his daily briefing for White House reporters, press secretary Sean Spicer danced around questions concerning if and when Trump would sign such an order, but his sympathies were clear: An employee's ability to express his or her faith at work, Spicer asserted, is too often "pushed out in the name of political correctness." The press secretary also painted the government itself as a regular violator of religious freedom, adding: "There's clearly a lot of evidence in the last couple years of the government coming in with regulations and policies that have, frankly, denied people the ability to live according to their faith."

The draft order also takes aim at another pet issue of Trump's: repealing the Johnson Amendment, which was added to the Internal Revenue Code in 1954 to prohibit tax-exempt organizations, including churches, from endorsing political candidates under penalty of having their tax exemptions revoked. Trump's promise to repeal the amendment was a centerpiece of his campaign outreach to the religious right; at the National Prayer Breakfast this month, he vowed to "totally destroy" it.

This could happen even without an executive order, raising the specter of churches becoming unaccountable de facto political-action committees. If the House and Senate pass a bill—introduced the day before the prayer breakfast—to repeal the amendment, Trump is certain to sign it into law. Such a change would create, in the words of Noah Bookbinder, executive director of Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington, "a massive

UPFRONT

11 Back Issues: (1920) Freedom's Loss

3 ***Hobby Lobby* on Steroids**

4 **Refugees Old and New**
Eric Foner

5 **The Score**
Bryce Covert

8 **Weapons of Mass Distraction**
D.D. Guttenplan

COLUMNS

6 **Subject to Debate**
Religious Right, Resurgent
Katha Pollitt

10 **Beneath the Radar**
Britain's Bridge to Nowhere
Gary Younge

11 **Deadline Poet**
Kellyanne Conway's Phantom Massacre
Calvin Trillin

Features

12 **Letter From Kakuma**
Jacob Kushner
Waiting for asylum at a Kenyan refugee camp.

16 **The West Coast Fights Back Against Trump**
Sasha Abramsky
Western states confront the new president's policies.

21 **Power Players**
D.D. Guttenplan
Jane McAlevey's demands for a new labor movement.

Books & the Arts

27 **Marx's Revenge**
Benjamin Kunkel

30 **Anxiety** (poem)
Cynthia Zarin

31 **Late Afternoon** (poem)
Cynthia Zarin

34 **The Muse of History** (poem)
Cynthia Zarin

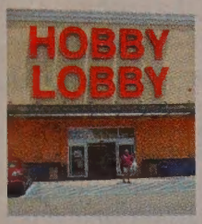
35 **Origins of a Movement**
Nathalie Baptiste

VOLUME 304, NUMBER 6,
February 27, 2017

The digital version of this issue is available to all subscribers February 9 at TheNation.com.

Hat tip to Barbara Kruger for the inspiration for our cover.

DC BY THE NUMBERS



20M
US women in need of publicly funded contraceptive services when *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby* allowed employers to deny them in 2014

6
Years that Aimee Stephens, a transgender woman, had worked at a funeral home before getting fired for her gender transition; when Stephens sued, a district judge cited *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby* in quashing the complaint

$60M
Estimated loss suffered by Indiana in 2015 as a result of a statewide Religious Freedom Restoration Act that then-Governor Mike Pence signed into law that year

"Oh what fresh hell is this?"

Former *Myth Buster* **Adam Savage** on Trump's executive-order draft, which would roll back protections for LGBTQ Americans

—Evan Malmgren

loophole for dark money, allowing unlimited sums of money to flow to nonprofit organizations for expressions of political views—but only on one side of the issues—with no disclosure of the source of that money."

Whether Trump and his allies can use these tactics to erode the separation of church and state will, of course, depend ultimately on the courts. But as with his travel ban on Muslims and refugees, Trump could sow chaos and inflict harm in the interim—and lash out at judges who rule against his policies. Neil Gorsuch, Trump's choice to fill the Supreme Court vacancy, is admired by the Christian right for his opinions on religious issues, including in the *Hobby Lobby* case. Given the events of the last two weeks, senators should be pressed to examine the scope of Gorsuch's embrace of religious exemptions—and his views on the use of executive power to unilaterally expand them. ■

Refugees Old and New

States can be a bastion of progressive resistance.

COMMENT

President Trump's executive order barring refugees from Muslim-majority countries and his frequent threats to deport millions of undocumented immigrants bring to mind another era when the federal government acted forcefully to apprehend men, women, and children fleeing oppressive conditions. In 1850, Congress passed and President Millard Fillmore signed the Fugitive Slave Act. The law authorized federal marshals to capture people who had escaped from the slaveholding South, federal commissioners to order their return to bondage, and federal troops to carry out these orders. The act made it a federal crime to aid fugitive slaves or refuse to assist in their capture; it also stripped accused runaways of their legal rights, including to testify on their own behalf, and invalidated numerous state laws meant to protect Northern blacks from kidnapping and sale into slavery.

History never really repeats itself, but uncanny resemblances exist between the pre–Civil War years and our own time, in terms of both the actions of the federal government and the resistance it has evoked. Of course, despite their travails, today's refugees are not fleeing conditions as horrific as American slavery. But just as many communities now offer sanctuary to undocumented immigrants and bar local law enforcement from cooperating with federal immigration officers, numerous Northern states beginning in the 1820s passed "personal-liberty laws" that prohibited state and local officials from assisting in the capture and return of fugitives. As with today's undocumented or fleeing migrants, judges issued writs of habeas corpus to prevent the return of fugitives to slavery, and Canada offered refuge to those unable to enjoy freedom in the United States.

The draconian law of 1850 didn't stop the steady flow of runaways from the South. Many Northerners—Abraham Lincoln among them—found the measure distasteful but insisted that it must be obeyed (although Lincoln called for changes to eliminate the very real possibility that free blacks would be caught up in its enforcement). Many others, loosely organized as the Underground Railroad, defied the federal statute. In Boston, Syracuse, Troy, and other communities, crowds stormed courthouses where fugitives were being held, overpowered guards, and spirited the runaways to Canada. Groups of black and white Northerners, at considerable risk, hid fugitives in their homes and facilitated their journeys north. Runaway slaves received such effective protection in New Bedford, Massachusetts, that it became known as "the fugitives' Gibraltar."

Progressives have long been accustomed to look to the federal government to protect individual liberties, while conservatives invoke states' rights to oppose everything from voting-rights enforcement to environmental regulations. Slavery and, later, Jim Crow were created by state law, and it required unprecedented exercises of federal power to abolish them and establish a legal framework of equal rights regardless of race. But there is nothing inherently progressive about federal power, and in some circumstances local self-government can become a bastion of resistance to reactionary national actions (see, for example, Sasha Abramsky's article on page 16). In the early 20th century, to borrow a phrase from Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis, states were regarded as the "laboratories of democracy," pioneering political reforms and social-welfare legislation later adopted on the federal level.

When it came to fugitive slaves, the South demanded vigorous national action. The Fugitive Slave Act was probably the most intrusive intervention by Washington into local affairs of the entire pre–Civil War period. In response, Northern opponents turned to states' rights. Wisconsin's legislature, for example, "nullified" the law, and the State Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional—a ruling subsequently overturned by the US Supreme Court.

The actions today of the attorneys general of California, New York, and other states—as well as hundreds of "sanctuary" cities and college campuses—in refusing to cooperate with the discriminatory policies of the federal government have their antecedents in this resistance to the Fugitive Slave Act. Faced with the need to combat the most retrograde national administration of our lifetimes, progressives need to rediscover the local power embedded in our Constitution.

Today, Harriet Tubman, the escaped slave who violated federal law by leading dozens of fugitives to freedom, is a national hero; her image will soon appear on the $20 bill. Meanwhile, who now remembers those who pursued the fugitive slaves, or the officials who promulgated and enforced the 1850 law? The name of Millard Fillmore, who signed that infamous statute and later ran for president as the candidate of the anti-immigrant American Party, evokes laughter, if it is recalled at all. History's most painful rebuke to Donald Trump is that he will very likely be forgotten—or, even worse, remembered as the Millard Fillmore of the 21st century. ERIC FONER

Eric Foner, a member of The Nation's editorial board, is the DeWitt Clinton Professor of History Emeritus at Columbia University. His most recent book is Gateway to Freedom: The Hidden History of the Underground Railroad.

THE SCORE/BRYCE COVERT + MIKE KONCZAL

Jobs for a Few

At his inauguration, Donald Trump bemoaned when "the jobs left and the factories closed." He described "rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation." Since his election, he's boasted about a deal cut with Carrier to keep some of the company's jobs from moving to Mexico, while either praising or cajoling GM, Ford, Fiat Chrysler, and Lockheed Martin about American jobs. On the first Monday of his presidency, he invited CEOs and labor leaders to meet with him, all culled from the ranks of manufacturing and construction. And in his first postelection press conference, he promised that he would be the "greatest jobs producer that God ever created."

But Trump's interest is occupied by one small sector of the economy—manufacturing, which makes up just about 8 percent of American employment. Even when mining and construction are taken into account, these goods-producing industries represent less than 13 percent of US jobs. Trump's imagined economic landscape is an outdated one.

Since most of us work in the service sector, why doesn't Trump look beyond manufacturing?

Why would Trump be so obsessed with jobs that only a small and declining share of Americans today rely on and worry about? Consider who holds them. Men make up more than 70 percent of those working in manufacturing and more than 90 percent of those in construction. Those living near big manufacturing bases were more likely to support Trump; in the end, he won men by 12 points and whites by 21 points.

As Trump talks a big game about manufacturing, Trump has been silent about the service sector. Macy's and Lowe's have announced job cuts; hundreds of retail stores are closing. But Trump has remarked on none of this. Service-sector jobs were entirely absent from his inaugural address. Yet the service sector makes up over 80 percent of US employment. In 1994, there were 3.5 million more people employed in manufacturing than retail, but now those numbers have nearly flipped.

Since most of us work in the service sector, why doesn't Trump look beyond manufacturing?

Again, consider the demographics. Service-sector jobs, particularly the fastest-growing ones, are dominated by women and people of color. The sector as a whole is about 57 percent female, nearly 17 percent black, and just under a quarter Hispanic. Health-care support workers are more than 87 percent female and 27 percent black. Food service is about 55 percent female and more than 25 percent Hispanic.

Most Americans are at the mercy of the service sector, and they may not fear most for their job security. Service-sector workers also have concerns that extend beyond the need for jobs. They're worried about the conditions that make their working lives untenable. For starters, many service jobs pay just enough to escape poverty, if that. Home health aides make $10.54 an hour at the median. Retail workers make $10.60. Food and beverage servers make $9.16. Add that up, and even a full-time, year-round job isn't enough to keep a family of four out of poverty.

These jobs also increasingly don't guarantee enough hours week to week to make a living, nor do they ensure that workers will have any idea what their hours actually are. At least 17 percent of the workforce has an irregular schedule, making it impossible to schedule child care or a ride to work. The problem is most acute in low-wage service jobs: Only 40 percent of retail workers in New York City say they have a set minimum number of hours every week, and a quarter say they're often on call. These chaotic schedules frequently deny workers enough hours to earn the money they need. In all, 5.8 million Americans yearn for full-time work but are stuck with part-time hours.

Having a job, then, is just the start of the arduous struggle toward financial security for a large number of Americans, across genders and colors. But you won't hear them or their issues mentioned by President Trump. Instead, he appears bent on ignoring the realities of the workforce in order to pander to the segment of America that sent him to the White House.

Bryce Covert

Trump's Big Jobs Strategy Ignores 80% of Us

He says his focus is manufacturing jobs, but:

Only **8%** of US jobs are in manufacturing.

80% of US jobs are in the service sector. Of these...

women hold **57%**,
blacks hold **17%**,
and Latinos hold **24%**.

He's just trying to impress his voting base:

Manufacturing jobs are...

71% men.

62% of white men are Trump voters.

If he cares about workers, he should help the service sector:

The average hourly wage of...

food-service workers is	home health aides is	retail workers is	While factory workers make an average of
$9	$11	$11	$26

Bureau of Labor Statistics, Edison Research for the National Election Pool.

TRACY LOEFFELHOLZ DUNN

TRUMPED

Holy Moly

President Donald J. "Grab them by the pussy" Trump received the overwhelming electoral support of evangelical Christians. Right-wingers had the policy commitments they needed—and, after all, in the words of Jerry Falwell Jr., "We're never going to have a perfect candidate unless Jesus Christ is on the ballot." Nonetheless, Trump has been obliged to put on a show of enthusiastically embracing the Christian faith. Here are some of his holiest moments:

MOBILE, ALABAMA, RALLY
AUGUST 21, 2015

Notable quote: **"As much as I love *The Art of the Deal*, it's not even close. We take the Bible all the way."** When asked later on the Bloomberg show *With All Due Respect* to name his favorite passage, Trump demurred. Asked whether he preferred the Old or New Testament, he declined to pick a favorite. **"Probably equal," he said. "I think it's just incredible."**

INAUGURATION
JANUARY 20, 2017

Notable quote: **"We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement, and, most importantly, we are protected by God."** Trump also took the oath of office with his hand on not one but *two* Bibles—his own, and the one used by Abraham Lincoln. Trump has said that Lincoln was **"a man that did something that was a very vital thing to do at that time."** The jury is still out on whether Trump knows what that thing was.

NATIONAL PRAYER BREAKFAST
FEBRUARY 2, 2016

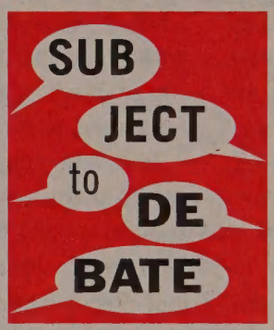
Notable quote: **"We had tremendous success on *The Apprentice*.... And they hired a big, big movie star, Arnold Schwarzenegger, to take my place. And we know how that turned out.... I want to just pray for Arnold, if we can, for those ratings."**

Katha Pollitt

Religious Right, Resurgent

They voted with their heads, and now Trump owes them big.

Let's say there was a charismatic presidential candidate whose election would mean long-lasting gains for progressive politics: big steps toward single-payer health care; major curbs on banks and finance; robust protection for unions and workers' rights; a Supreme Court that would guarantee civil rights, voting rights, LGBTQ rights, and women's rights—including abortion rights—for the next 40 years. Unfortunately, this candidate is kind of a dick. He tells racist and sexist jokes, has a turbulent private life, used to be a Republican, is financially shady, and has shown over many years that he does not share your ethical code, though for campaign purposes he half-heartedly tries to fake it. Would you withhold your vote and hand the White House to his opponent, a flaming reactionary, or support him and make America Sweden? Assuming the candidate is a man (because a woman like that would never have made it that far), we already know the answer, don't we? Of course you'd vote for him. Progressives supported Ted Kennedy, after all—a great politician who cheated on college exams, was an alcoholic and flagrant womanizer, and let a woman drown. Some things are just more important than other things.



In the last election, 81 percent of white evangelical Christians put aside their so-called biblical and family values and voted for Donald Trump, a libertine and crook. Some pundits professed surprise at that. But why did they think that right-wing Christians—who, after all, constitute a political movement—were purer than anyone else? You can call it hypocrisy (best rationalization: "He's a baby Christian"), or you can call it keeping their eyes on the prize, but in their shoes most of us would do the same. At least I hope we would. The ones among us who didn't this time around, who wouldn't besmirch their souls by voting for "unlikable," "flawed," faux-feminist/Goldman-Sachs-speech-giving/warmonger/just-as-bad-as-Trump Shillary Clinton, are about to get a serious lesson in just how expensive principles can be.

White evangelical Christians sensibly chose to overlook Trump's ethical flaws and focus on the big picture: banning abortion, expanding "religious freedom" (i.e., the right to discriminate), rescinding the sexual revolution, and so on. They've been richly rewarded already. Vice President Mike Pence, who calls himself "a Christian, a conservative, and a Republican, in that order," is a gift that will keep on giving: As a congressman and Indiana governor, he has a long record of hostility to abortion rights, Planned Parenthood, and LGBTQ rights—and unlike Trump and his closest advisers, he knows his way around government. Trump's nominations have been stuffed with Christian conservatives and anti-choicers: Ben Carson for housing secretary, Betsy DeVos for education secretary, and Liberty University president Jerry Falwell Jr. to lead an education task force. For health secretary, he's picked Tom Price, who says he's never met a woman who can't afford birth control; and for the health-care seat on the Domestic Policy Council, Katy Talento, who believes that birth control causes cancer and infertility. At the National Prayer Breakfast, Trump also vowed to "totally destroy" the 1954 Johnson Amendment, which bars tax-exempt organizations, including churches, from campaigning for political candidates.

But the Golden Fleece for the Christian right is control of the Supreme Court. It's conventional wisdom that voters don't care about the Supreme Court, and certainly there's some truth to that on the left. ("People power!") However, with three justices 78 or older and Scalia's seat still open, the Christian right spotted its opportunity: With Trump in power, it could shape the Court for the next 30 or even 40 years. Trump's first nominee, Neil Gorsuch, is the perfect vehicle: a far-right judge with impeccable credentials, already unanimously approved by Senate Dems for the federal appeals court, who wrote a concurring opinion in the *Hobby Lobby* decision supporting the right of some owners of secular businesses to deny birth-control coverage to their employees on religious grounds.

You can call it hypocrisy, or you can call it keeping your eyes on the prize—but I hope that in their shoes, we'd do the same.

With another nomination like Gorsuch, the Christian right would have the five votes needed to

ILLUSTRATIONS: (LEFT) STEVE BRODNER; (RIGHT) ANDY FRIEDMAN

Advertisement

What 3 Foods Are KILLING You From The Inside?

There are many foods that we should be avoiding in order to stay healthy and look our best. Being healthy and looking good is a big priority for many of us.

The problem is that there are 3 foods in particular, one of which has been banned in many countries, yet still legal here in the U.S. These foods may cause us to gain weight and may actually be killing you from the inside. These foods could be the cause of why you are not losing weight, no matter what you have tried- diet, exercise, ect.

These foods are in your home and you are most likely consuming them every day.

If you ever feel like you are tired and fatigued from your workouts, or daily life routines, the culprit may be these foods that you are consuming. These foods may affect your everyday life by literally sucking the energy from you.

Some of these foods have been disguised as "health foods." These foods could be causing what is called gut yeast to be growing inside of your stomach.

The truth about these foods is that they may be killing you from the inside.

Some doctors are even calling these 3 things "death foods." These are foods that you should stop eating right now!

Please go to **www.KillerFood36.com** now to find out more about these foods and why you should stop eating them.

There is one food addtitive in particular which may be extremely harmful to your health and is banned in almost every first world country except here in the U.S.

The problem is that many food manufacturers market some of these foods as "health foods" and you may be thinking that you are eating healthy, but in reality, you may not be. This may be the furthest from the truth. Please watch this shocking life changing presentation at **www.KillerFood36.com.**

overturn *Roe v. Wade* and a whole lot more. If the Court upheld state efforts to disenfranchise black and Democratic voters, the right could maintain its hold on state legislatures, even as whites become a smaller percentage of the population, and pass whatever laws it liked, such as the one just passed in Arkansas giving men—even rapists—the legal right to sue women for aborting their "child," or the one proposed in Texas that makes abortion a felony punished like murder for both women and providers. After all, as State Representative Tony Tinderholt told *The Texas Observer*, "Right now, they don't make it important to be personally responsible because they know that they have a backup of 'oh, I can just go get an abortion.'" (No punishment for the man involved, by the way.)

Right-wing Christians weren't stupid; they made sure that Trump's debt to them was one he'd have to pay.

Trump's sinful past and all-over-the-map public statements may have discomfited some Christians, but they may also have helped socially liberal voters pull the lever for him. The latter could always tell themselves that a man like that would never really do the bidding of the Christian right; as one woman in a Planned Parenthood focus group put it, "He's probably paid for a few abortions himself." It's funny how we persuade ourselves that a politician is telling the truth when he says what we want to hear, even if he says a lot of other things too. Right-wing Christians weren't so stupid; they made sure his debt to them was one he'd have to pay.

The so-called culture war—actually a war over the social and economic power of straight white men—has been declared dead many times, including as recently as last year. Modernity, we were told—feminism, LGBTQ rights, the sexual revolution, free speech, equality, religious tolerance, secularism—had won the day, with religious conservatives as the grumbling losers. What a difference an election makes. ■

Weapons of Mass Distraction

With Trump, what is signal and what is noise?

COMMENT

The British called it "Window"; the Luftwaffe dubbed its version "Düppel." For the Americans, "Chaff" was the code name for the top-secret weapon that, in July 1943, allowed the US Army Air Forces to obliterate Hamburg in broad daylight. For the past two weeks, the Trump administration has been using a Chaff approach to media management—and if we don't learn how to deal with it, we may suffer the same fate as Hamburg.

In the early months of World War II, scientists in Britain, the United States, and Nazi Germany were all working on the same problem: Radar, the technological breakthrough that turned the tide in the Battle of Britain by giving the Royal Air Force early warning of German raids, also made Allied bombers much more vulnerable to antiaircraft fire. Joan Curran, a British physicist, came up with a solution: thousands of narrow strips of aluminum-coated paper dumped from the sky to create a massive cloud of decoy images, blinding German radar and rendering their air defenses useless. Overwhelmed by a blizzard of potential targets, the German gunners didn't know where to aim.

And now we have Trump, with his barrage of outrageous and offensive comments, his waves of unqualified or conflict-ridden nominees, and his daily assault on the most vulnerable among us. The first temptation is to respond to everything, to protest everything—which, while satisfying in the short run, eventually leads to exhaustion and despair. The second temptation is to panic—to interpret all Chaff as enemy incoming and assume we're facing an overwhelming attack. If you've been reading any of the sometimes frighteningly plausible, and often well-intentioned, articles claiming that we're on the verge of some kind of coup, then you'll know exactly what I'm talking about.

But hold on a minute: Trump has the White House. The Republicans control the Senate and the House. In a few months, they'll have another seat on the Supreme Court. Why bother with a coup when they already have power in their hands? Instead of reverting to fight or flight—Canada? New Zealand? I've even heard of people whose grandparents fled the Holocaust applying for German citizenship—we need to start thinking strategically.

President Donald Trump signs an executive order in the Oval Office, January 23, 2017.

EVAN VUCCI / AP PHOTO

How can we effectively respond to Trump's weapons of mass distraction? First, by distinguishing the signal from the noise. Since the inauguration, my Twitter feed has been a torrent of outrage over Trump's pronouncements (or, in the case of Holocaust Remembrance Day, nonpronouncements), horror over his firing of an Obama Justice Department appointee (who would have resigned anyway), agonizing about Russian influence, ridicule of the absurd claims by some in

his administration that the media suppress reports of terrorist attacks, and triumphalist predictions about when the impeachment proceedings against him will begin.

But we need to listen to the message that Trump is actually sending—because out there in flyover country, the radar is picking up something quite different. I just spent a week in Youngstown, Ohio—a traditionally Democratic part of the country that has been losing jobs, income, and people since the steel mills shut down in the 1970s. Trump carried the Mahoning River Valley—comprising Trumbull and Mahoning counties—by 8,000 votes. Barack Obama won both Rust Belt counties in 2008; four years later, his margin was 58,000 votes. To those people—voters who embraced "Hope and Change" in 2008 and kept that faith in 2012—Trump's signal is coming through loud and clear: jobs for American workers, borders for foreigners, and government that refuses to play by the polite corporate rule book that left their communities to rot. We may be repulsed by Trump's language and horrified by his actions. But these voters see a president who, unlike mere politicians, does in office exactly what he said he'd do on the campaign trail, from bulldozing the TPP to building that wall. We see a buffoon, a pussy-grabber, the Cheeto in chief. They see a man who keeps his promises.

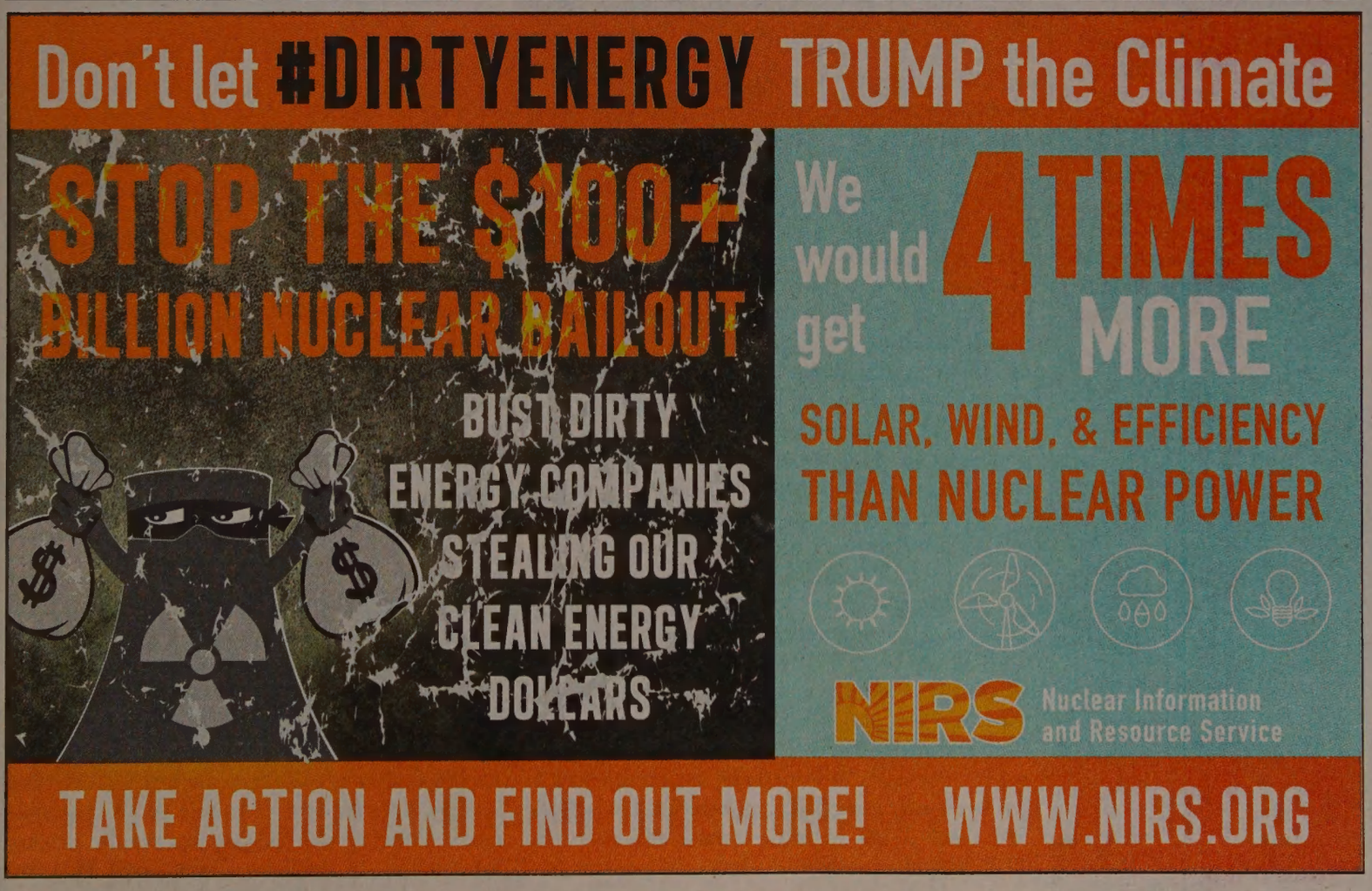
We see a buffoon, but Trump's supporters see a man who keeps his promises.

And while the Democratic Party devours itself in a civil war between the Sanders Revolution and the Clinton Restoration, deferring indefinitely the crucial, substantive debate over inequality, Wall Street, and how to manage the economy, Trump tightens his grip on working-class voters—partly by pandering to their prejudices, but also by appealing to their interests, whether it's infrastructure projects for the building trades or jawboning the Big Three automakers to produce more cars in the United States. (Though it was hardly covered outside the business press, Trump's January 24 confab with the heads of Ford, GM, and Fiat Chrysler was big news on both sides of the Ohio-Pennsylvania border.)

Protest remains essential, if only to remind ourselves that we represent the majority. So too are actions in defense of Muslims, immigrants, and anyone else singled out by the new administration. But neither will be sufficient to defeat Trump. And both can be used to tie us up while Trump consolidates his power and strengthens the coalition that elected him—and that might well reelect him, if we don't find a way to peel off segments of his support.

Even if many people approve of Trump's curbs on immigration, there are still plenty of potential wedges between the Republican Congress and working-class voters. The gap between Trump's promises and the political costs of throwing 18 million people off health insurance has already hobbled GOP efforts to repeal Obamacare. Student debt, corporate welfare, climate change, and workers' rights are all areas where real alternatives to Trump's false promises could help the opposition cut through the noise.

Attending less to Trump's words and more to his actions might also free up time to listen to the legitimate fears and grievances of his supporters, and to focus on the important thing: not whether potential allies supported Clinton or Sanders in the past, but on building a broad opposition now—and deterring the collaboration that bolsters Trump's claim to effectiveness. Because while we giggle at Alec Baldwin on *Saturday Night Live*, Donald Trump could be laughing all the way to a second term. D.D. GUTTENPLAN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SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP

Grenada

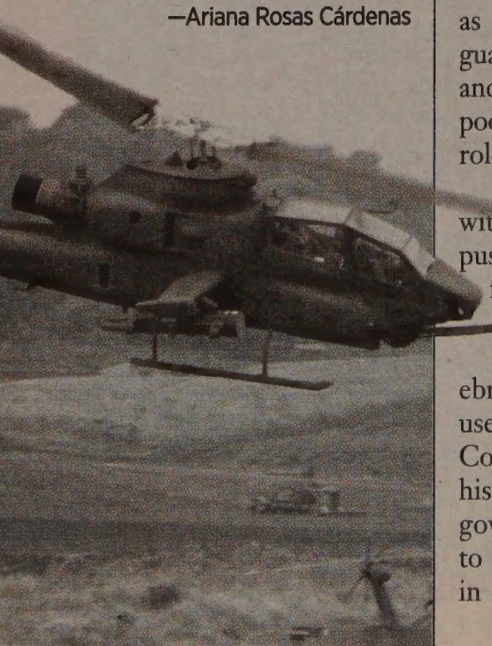
As Gary Younge describes at right, the "special relationship" between the United States and Britain has always been an unequal one.

In October 1983, President Ronald Reagan gave the green light to Operation Urgent Fury, which sent US forces into Grenada, the second-smallest independent nation in the Western Hemisphere. A former British colony, Grenada had gained its independence in 1974; by 1983, two of its leaders had been deposed, and one, Maurice Bishop, had been executed. Reagan launched the attack under the pretext of rescuing some 600 American medical students on the island. It was also an opportunity to erase the memory of America's defeat in Vietnam and its more recent humiliation during the hostage crisis in Iran, and, perhaps more urgently, to deflect attention away from a suicide bombing in Beirut that killed 241 US military personnel.

At the time, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher expressed her concern and pleaded with Reagan to reconsider. "You asked for my advice," she said. "I have set it out and hope that even at this late stage you will take it into account before events are irrevocable."

Years later, in his autobiography, Reagan confessed: "She was very adamant and continued to insist that we cancel our landings on Grenada. I couldn't tell her that it had already begun."

—Ariana Rosas Cárdenas



Gary Younge

Britain's Bridge to Nowhere

Theresa May's plan to serve as a conduit between Europe and America will fail.

On December 31, 1999, as television networks spanned the globe to cover the celebrations ringing in the new millennium, ABC's Peter Jennings reflected on Britain's recent history. "In 1900, when Queen Victoria was on the throne, she presided over the largest empire in history," Jennings said, as fireworks boomed over the Thames. "Four hundred million people, one-fifth the earth's surface. And now as we come to the end of this century, for all this fantastic show… Britain's possessions have dwindled to about 15 dependent territories. Hong Kong went back to the Chinese, but the Falkland Islands are still British."

Ever since the Suez Crisis in 1956, Britain has struggled to establish a place in the world that fits its melancholic pretensions to its size and budget. Nostalgic about its former glory, anxious about its diminished state, and forgetful about its former crimes, Britain lives on its reputation with the same mixture of frugality and ostentatiousness that an elderly aristocrat might live on his trust fund—thriftily yet pompously, with a great sense of entitlement and precious little self-awareness.

Central to this delusional patriotic sensibility has been Britain's relationship with the United States. Fancying ourselves as the lone reliable conduit between Europe and America, British governments of either party long understood themselves as bilingual and transatlantic. Speaking the language both of American unilateral military power and pan-European ideals of social democracy and pooled sovereignty, we imagined our postcolonial role as the diplomatic bridge across the Atlantic.

This in no small part explains the urgency with which British Prime Minister Theresa May pushed herself to the front of the queue to be the first foreign leader to meet Donald Trump after his inauguration. Most European dignitaries not only kept their distance but celebrated it: German Chancellor Angela Merkel used her first phone call to explain the Geneva Conventions to Trump after the unveiling of his refugee and Muslim travel ban. The Dutch government announced an international fund to finance access to birth control and abortion in developing countries to help compensate for the shortfall caused by Trump's recent executive order reinstating the global gag rule, which blocks US funding to NGOs that provide abortion care or referrals. And Sweden's deputy prime minister appeared to troll Trump—whose image signing that order in a room full of men looking on went viral—with a photograph of herself signing a climate bill surrounded only by female colleagues. Meanwhile, May—the United Kingdom's second female prime minister—flew to Washington so that she could be photographed, all rictus smiles and fawning banter, walking hand in hand with the grabber in chief.

These overtures will fail on their own terms for four reasons—two long-standing and chronic, two more recent and currently in play. First, this "special relationship" was only ever really special for Britain. Were there a counseling service for spurned diplomatic suitors, the British foreign service would long ago have been warned of its American heartthrob: "He's just not that into you." While the United States finds British support for its actions useful, it is perfectly content to go it alone. As both the second Iraq War and the invasion of Grenada 20 years earlier testified, Britain has no power to restrain the United States from military force and folly. Its primary function is to enable; as such, it has always been in an abusive relationship—one in which the ultimate victims of that abuse were generally to be found in the developing world.

Britain lives on its reputation the way an elderly aristocrat might live on his trust fund—thriftily yet pompously.

Second, as a result of Britain's ineffectual interventions, most European nations have never found it a particularly useful go-between with Washington. The European Union developed, at least in part, as a counterpoint to American hegemony, not as a junior partner in it.

Third, thanks to Brexit, the UK has even less to offer America now than ever. As we negotiate our way out of the EU, we are rapidly becoming a bridge to nowhere. Trump told May that

ILLUSTRATION: RIGHT, ANDY FRIEDMAN

Brexit would be a "wonderful thing" for Britain. It won't be. Indeed, those who voted for it, pining for our lost grandeur, have achieved the opposite: We're about to find out how small we are. The only currency that we had was symbolic; now that, like the pound, has been devalued. "In a while," French President François Hollande pointed out, "France will be the only permanent member of the [United Nations] Security Council to be also a member of the EU when the UK leaves."

Finally, May is exhausting considerable domestic political capital at home to pursue this futile end. The day after Trump's inauguration, London hosted one of the biggest women's marches outside of the United States. A little over a week later, a few days after May announced that she'd invited Trump on a state visit, tens of thousands of people were back in the streets, in London and in other major British cities, to protest his coming arrival and her craven acquiescence. Indeed, the determination of "Theresa the Appeaser" to cozy up to Trump has galvanized resistance to her premiership in a manner that her parliamentary opposition has been unable to do.

It is, of course, easier to export frustration than deal with it on your doorstep. But the mood at these demonstrations suggests that Trump's election is being understood as a huge, ugly orange canary in a coal mine fit to be condemned. The brazen bigotry that helped propel him to office and is now being enacted into law is by no means unique to the United States: It also made Brexit possible, and it's fueling the election prospects of the hard right throughout Europe. Most European countries have their own version of Trump, while most major European cities have mounted their own significant demonstrations against Trump. These marches started off as acts of solidarity, but they have the potential to be much more. ■

The determination of "Theresa the Appeaser" to cozy up to Trump has galvanized resistance to her premiership.

SNAPSHOT/JORGE DUENES

Borderland

A woman in Tijuana attempts to talk to family members on the other side of the border fence separating the United States from Mexico. President Trump signed an executive order last month ordering the construction of his long-promised border wall amid strained relations between the two countries over immigration policy.

REUTERS

Calvin Trillin
Deadline Poet

KELLYANNE CONWAY'S PHANTOM MASSACRE

She said the massacre at Bowling Green
Was just the sort of terror we've been fearing.
And this she didn't mention: At the scene
Were Jersey Muslims by the thousands cheering.

BACK ISSUES/1920

Freedom Is an Empty Thing

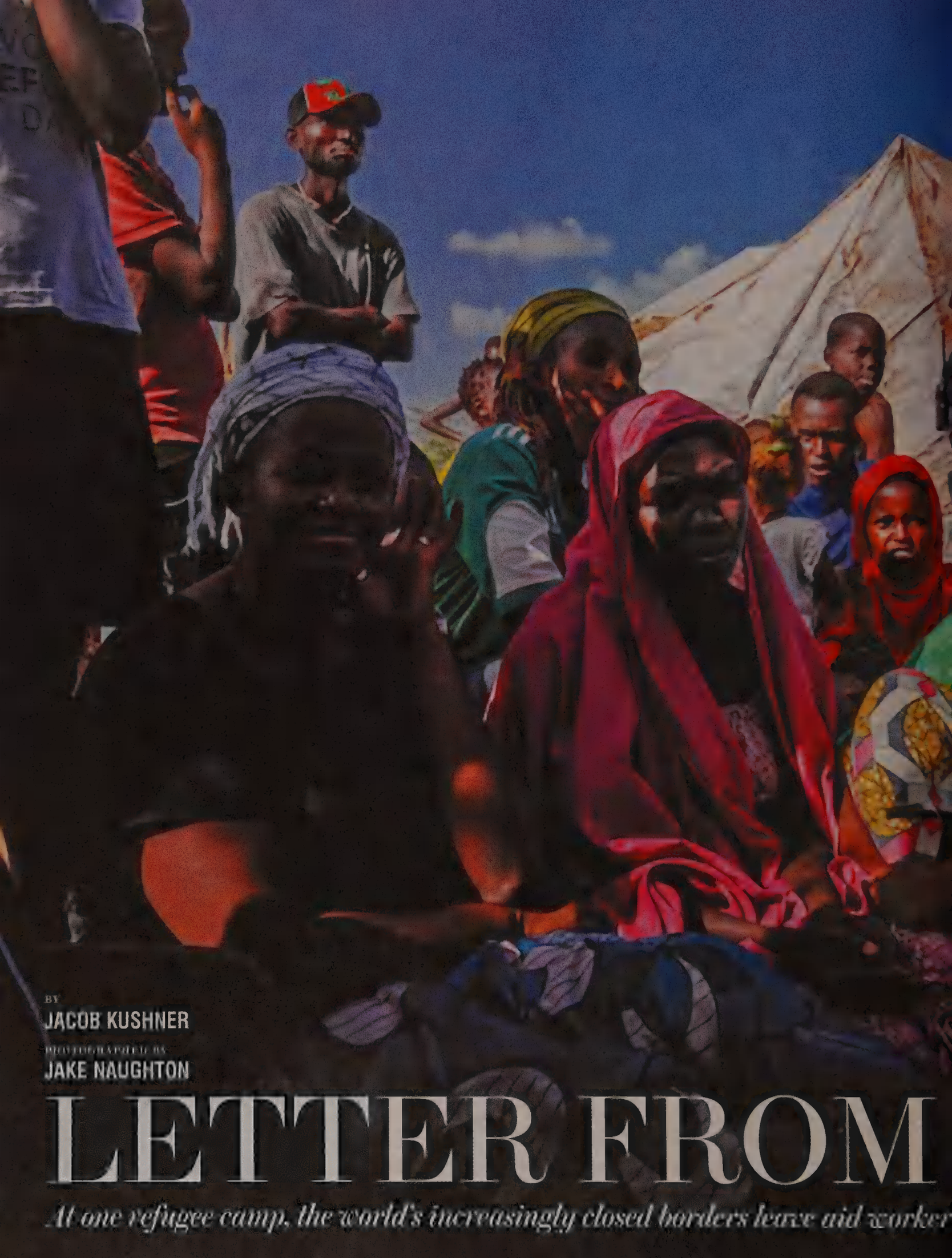
"The test of America's love of liberty is our willingness to insure it to others," Frederic C. Howe, a former commissioner of immigration for the Port of New York, wrote in these pages in 1920.

Of the approximately "sixteen million persons of alien birth in the United States," Howe continued (there are more than 40 million today), "the vast majority are manual workers. They do our dirty work. It is their labor that gives us our leisure. They produce a great part of the wealth which the rest of us enjoy. Industrial America rests on the backs of the alien workers who form our defenceless class."

Howe dreaded the impact that "wholesale arrests and deportations" would have on the foreign-born: "They are living in perpetual fear...a fear that they are likely to be seized and torn from their homes, and that all America is eager to be rid of them by the most expeditious process possible. We have made Americanization impossible. For even the alien is discerning enough to realize that freedom is an empty thing if it is stripped of those liberties and civil rights which distinguish America from the Old World....

"Wendell Phillips said that slavery made a slave of the master no less than the slave. Our experience has shown that even a free people can lose their freedom by denying it to others."

—Richard Kreitner



BY
JACOB KUSHNER

PHOTOGRAPHED BY
JAKE NAUGHTON

LETTER FROM

At one refugee camp, the world's increasingly closed borders leave aid worker

Fenced in: Some [illegible] at Kakuma [illegible] special "protection"

The Nation.

Kakuma, Kenya

STANDING IN FRONT OF HIS SMALL hut in the Kakuma refugee camp, a middle-aged man named Danny wondered aloud whether he'd remain here forever. Danny grew up in neighboring Uganda, where he'd lived until the violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo between the military and a local militia bled across the Ugandan border. In 2012, he and his younger brother Arthur fled to this refuge in Kenya. (The names of all refugees in this article have been changed.)

Located in the parched and unforgiving northwestern county of Turkana, the camp was founded after thousands of the so-called "Lost Boys of Sudan" made their way here during Sudan's civil war. Twenty-five years later, it is now one of the oldest refugee camps in the world, home to some 150,000 people forced to flee their homelands due to violence or deprivation. Few, if any, of Kakuma's residents wish to remain. But unless conditions improve drastically in their home nations—Somalia, Ethiopia, South Sudan, and others—their only hope of finding stability and safety is to pray that they will be resettled elsewhere.

In 2014, Arthur's prayers were answered when he was granted asylum by the Netherlands. Danny remained behind in the camp. The two brothers' fates were split, it seems, by the fact that Arthur is gay, whereas Danny is not.

Arthur's grant of asylum coincided with a push by international human-rights activists to help gay refugees who'd fled their home countries, only to face homophobic persecution in the very places they'd fled to. Heeding that pressure, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees expedited, for a time, the cases of gay refugees living in Kenya, a country that punishes acts of homosexuality with up to 14 years in prison and where homophobia often escalates into violence. More than 500 gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender refugees found themselves waiting in camps or hiding out in urban apartments in Kenya while they hoped to be resettled. In 2014, after the UNHCR began prioritizing them for resettlement, more than 100 boarded planes to safer havens in a matter of months.

"I was happy because I knew for him, he is safe now," Danny said of his younger brother, who became part of that exodus. But a year and a half later, still stuck in Kakuma, Danny admitted that his happiness had turned to envy. "Maybe by now I could be somewhere," he said, "having many opportunities."

From Turkey to Pakistan, from Iran to Ethiopia, refugee workers are being forced to make painful choices regarding the future of

ONLINE

Six Countries, Two People

Follow Daniel and Kedijah's harrowing search for safety. Their story reveals everything wrong with wealthy nations' responses to the refugee crisis. Read it at TheNation.com.

Home and away: More than 350,000 refugees live in Kenya's Kakuma camp

more than 21 million refugees, part of a record 65 million displaced persons around the world. They must choose between political and economic refugees, individuals and families, the healthy and the sick, the elderly and unaccompanied children. They try to move those most in need of help to the front of the line for resettlement somewhere safe. But when it comes to triaging the world's humanitarian crises, there are few humane choices.

THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES IS THE international agency in charge of processing migrants' refugee status and helping those who wish to be resettled apply for asylum. (Many countries, including the United States, also consider direct applications for asylum from people arriving by their own volition.) All over the world, UNHCR officials and other refugee workers are forced to weigh one refugee's tragic circumstances against another's. One of the people charged with making this devil's choice is Inge De Langhe, a UNHCR protection officer from Belgium who's been working with refugees for more than a decade. "We find people who really cannot survive in the camp," she said, "and these people we try to resettle."

From her office at the edge of Kakuma, De Langhe explained the process. First, her staff interviews new arrivals to the camp to determine whether they qualify for refugee status. Next, they inform some of these people that they're eligible to apply for asylum from one of a number of host countries. Most of the people arriving at the camp don't get a chance at resettlement, due to the limited number of slots. But if they do, De Langhe's staff refers them to the relevant European or North American embassy to begin a lengthy series of security, medical, and other interviews to determine whether they'll be admitted.

De Langhe's ability to resettle the most vulnerable refugees depends on the willingness of wealthy nations to accept them. Each summer, representatives from the destination countries convene for a three-day conference in Geneva called the Annual Tripartite Consultations on Resettlement. There, UNHCR officials outline the people—Syrians, Somalis, South Sudanese—that the agency has housed in camps like Kakuma all around the world. In turn, the government officials announce their quotas: how many refugees their nations are prepared to take, and from which countries.

De Langhe can't speak on the record about which nations are stepping up this year to welcome the world's tired, its poor, its huddled masses. The United States does accept more refugees through the UNHCR than any other country—about 49,000 people in 2014, or two-thirds of the total 77,331 that the agency helped to resettle. The second-most-welcoming wealthy country was Canada, which took in about 7,000. The United Kingdom accepted just 628, France a mere 378. Japan took in 23. But the roughly 105,000 people that the UNHCR approved for resettlement in 2014 represented a fraction of the 866,000 who applied in that year alone.

A rising xenophobia in Europe may lead to even greater restrictions on the number of refugees who receive asylum there. But in the United States, the outlook for refugees has gotten worse. The Obama administration announced in September that the United States would accept 110,000 refugees in 2017, up from 85,000 the previous year. However, in his first week in office, President Donald Trump issued an executive order temporarily halting all refugee resettlement in the United States while new policies are developed, indefinitely blocking Syrian refugees, and temporarily suspending all arrivals from seven nations, including Sudan and Somalia. Trump is expected to ultimately lower the number of refugees that the United States accepts in 2017 to 50,000.

Trump intends to lower the number of refugees that the United States accepts in 2017 to 50,000.

All of this makes De Langhe's work in Kakuma resemble a perverse experiment in triage. "You could go to Kakuma and you could find reason to resettle each and every refugee," she said. "But you cannot."

ONE NIGHT IN JUNE 2014, AAHIL, A 41-year-old gay man, was lounging with his partner in his apartment in Kampala when Ugandan police officers stormed in. Aahil escaped through a window, but his partner was taken to jail. After Aahil cobbled together enough money to bail his partner out, they fled Uganda on a bus to Kenya. It didn't take long for them to discover that gay people were threatened in Kenya as well: In early 2015, men wearing face masks and brandishing *pangas* (a tool with a sharp blade, like a machete) broke down the door to their bare-bones apartment.

"The first person entered—I fought him," Aahil re-

Jacob Kushner reports on migration, foreign aid, and human rights in East and Central Africa, the Caribbean, and Germany. Follow him on Twitter @JacobKushner.

called. "The second guy came with a sharp *panga*. He cut me here, and here, and here." Aahil pointed to some of the wounds; they were deep and still visible. But he was lucky enough to be approved for resettlement in the United States. In 2015, Aahil and his partner boarded a flight to North Carolina.

Kenya has become home to gay refugees from many African countries, including Burundi, Ethiopia, and Congo. But the vast majority come from Uganda. Homosexuality was first made illegal by the British, back when the country was under colonial rule, but it wasn't until the late 2000s that Ugandan Christian leaders began speaking out publicly against homosexuality. They were supported, and sometimes encouraged, by evangelical Americans who would travel to Uganda and denounce homosexuality in public gatherings or in private meetings with influential religious leaders and politicians. One Pentecostal pastor, Scott Lively, is being sued in US federal court by a Ugandan LGBTQ advocacy group that charges he incited the persecution of LGBTQ people during his visits to Uganda.

In 2013, Ugandan lawmakers passed a bill that, in its original form, would have punished "aggravated homosexuality"—including repeated gay sex or sex with a minor—with death. The Constitutional Court of Uganda invalidated the law on a technicality, but Uganda still outlaws homosexuality, as do 35 of Africa's 53 other nations. The law became a major news item, and Ugandan newspapers began publicly outing alleged homosexuals, publishing their photos and using inflammatory headlines like HANG THEM. David Kato, a well-known LGBTQ-rights activist, was murdered; many others were attacked or jailed.

Beginning in early 2014, hundreds of LGBTQ Ugandans decided to flee for their safety. Most went to Kenya, which for decades has reluctantly harbored refugees from around the region. But as Aahil learned, Kenya is no safe haven for gay refugees. When a straight man from South Sudan flees the war and arrives in Kenya, he may be forced to live under miserable conditions in a refugee camp, but at least he's managed to escape the conflict. When LGBTQ people arrive in Kenya, they haven't escaped the persecution that drove them here.

That's why the UNHCR in Kenya decided to give LGBTQ refugees priority for resettlement. The agency frequently does this for individuals who face unique dangers, but prioritizing an entire class of refugees for resettlement based on their sexual identity was unprecedented. In conjunction with Kenya's Department of Refugee Affairs, the UNHCR began to expedite many LGBTQ Ugandans for resettlement, sending them off to Europe or North America within just six or seven months' time.

Still, even priority status isn't enough to ensure resettlement, given how few slots are open. Within a year, it became impossible for the UNHCR to prioritize the hundreds of LGBTQ people arriving in Kenya. The speedy processing stopped; the later arrivals have had to wait. But waiting means living in a camp like Kakuma surrounded by other refugees, many of whom disparage homosexuals, or hiding out in Nairobi in violation of Kenyan law, which requires all refugees to remain in the camps.

No refuge: Aahil bares scars from an anti-gay attack in Kenya, after escaping similar violence in Uganda.

One official working on refugee resettlement in Nairobi described the triaging as "Solomonic."

ON A HOT SATURDAY IN OCTOBER 2015, a woman named Grace sat inside a dark mud hut in Kakuma. A bisexual mother of two, Grace owned a boutique in Kampala, Uganda, where she sold dresses and other clothing for children. She lived with her husband until one day in April 2014, when he went looking for his passport and found hers instead. From between its pages fell nude photos of Grace and a girlfriend she'd been seeing in secret. Grace said her husband shouted at her and beat her. Then he called the police.

"He told the police that he has been with me for a long time and he didn't know I was a lesbian," Grace recounted. "He was wondering why I wasn't making love to him for a year, and he realized that was the reason." The police took Grace to jail, and her husband told her never to return. After a few nights in jail, Grace's cousin came and bribed the police to let her out. Grace retrieved her two young children and boarded a bus to Kenya.

A few weeks after arriving at Kakuma, Grace's 4-year-old son asked her when they would leave. Grace didn't have an answer. Returning to Uganda wasn't an option: After they'd fled, a newspaper in Kampala outed Grace as a lesbian and published a picture of her. She keeps the newspaper clipping in her wallet. After the photo appeared, Grace heard from her sister in Kampala that people had vandalized and looted her boutique. With no livelihood to return to, she's been waiting to learn whether she and her two kids will be among the lucky few chosen to be resettled somewhere new. Meanwhile, she's faced violence in the camp, too: The bushes that formed a fence around the compound she shares with other LGBTQ refugees have been burned, presumably by homophobic refugees who find their presence unwelcome.

To determine if someone is eligible for asylum, the UNHCR interviews that person to look for evidence that she has experienced "a threat to life or freedom" sufficient to justify her decision to flee. Technically, a person doesn't need to prove that she has experienced

Hurry up and wait: LGBTQ refugees at Kakuma have priority—which is little help without enough countries willing to take them.

persecution already; a well-founded fear that she would be persecuted if she were deported back to her home country is sufficient. For an LGBTQ refugee coming from a country where homophobic abuse is well documented, this standard is easily met.

But in most other respects, Grace's predicament is little different from that of hundreds of thousands of straight and cisgender refugees in Kenya. This becomes immediately clear to anyone who enters the "protection area" of Kakuma Camp 3. It's a fenced-in sector where refugees who face particular persecution or threats are moved for their safety. They are advised not to venture beyond the fence without a police escort, which is usually only provided when they have a UNHCR or embassy appointment to attend. The rest of the time they live inside a small prison of sorts, until the day they're resettled—a day that, for most of them, will never come.

One of these refugees is Keicha. A straight woman with wide eyebrows and fingernails painted dark pink, she lives in the protection area with her husband and three sons. Years ago, a soldier in Congo shot her father in the head and then kidnapped Keicha as his wife. After a year of domestic enslavement, she escaped and eventually made her way to Kakuma in 2009.

Keicha found a job as a midwife at the camp hospital. She says one day a Somali man stopped her and demanded that she bring him placentas from the hospital to sell, presumably for some sort of medicinal potion. Keicha refused. One night on her way to work, five men attacked her, dragged her into a hut, and gang-raped her. Then they took knives to her uterus. "They cut off my vagina so I'm no longer a woman," she said.

Saving her life required intensive surgery. Keicha spent more than a month in a hospital recuperating. When she returned to Kakuma, she and her family were moved to the protection area. In 2011, her family's asylum application was rejected; no explanation was given. (The UNHCR doesn't comment on individual cases.) Keicha said she appealed the decision but never heard back. Refugees have just 30 days to file an appeal, and it's highly unlikely that her appeal would still be under way after five years.

Why should Keicha be forced to stay in a violent refugee camp while gay Ugandans get resettled in North America and Europe? De Langhe sympathizes with the LGBTQ refugees' plight—but she also sympathizes with the 500,000 other refugees living in Kenya. Which ones among them most deserve a rare chance at a new life, and which should be left behind in a squalid refugee camp? One official working on refugee resettlement for a foreign embassy in Nairobi described the triaging of gay and straight refugees as "Solomonic," adding: "There's a lot of really ugly stuff that goes on in the world."

So for refugee workers like De Langhe, there are no good choices. Because wealthy nations don't admit anywhere near the number of refugees who need protection, prioritizing Africa's gay refugees comes at the expense of others: people like Keicha, women who have been victimized by sexual violence, and her children. (In Kakuma, about half of all refugee claims include minors.) Then there are the orphans—children whose parents were killed in the wars from which they fled. There are elderly refugees and disabled ones, too.

"You meet with LGBTI and you think, 'Oh, I have to prioritize them,'" De Langhe said. "Then you see the children and you think you have to prioritize *them*. Then you see the old people.... That is the dilemma." ■

EVEN BEFORE DONALD TRUMP'S NOW-infamous executive order shutting the nation's doors to refugees—and the Washington State lawsuit that at least temporarily reopened that door—Washington Governor Jay Inslee had thrown down the gauntlet. "We will continue to accept refugees," he pledged. "And we are not going to have any religious tests. It's not acceptable to basic American values. We're going to maintain our state's welcome mat that helps immigrants in job training and language training so they can build their new lives here."

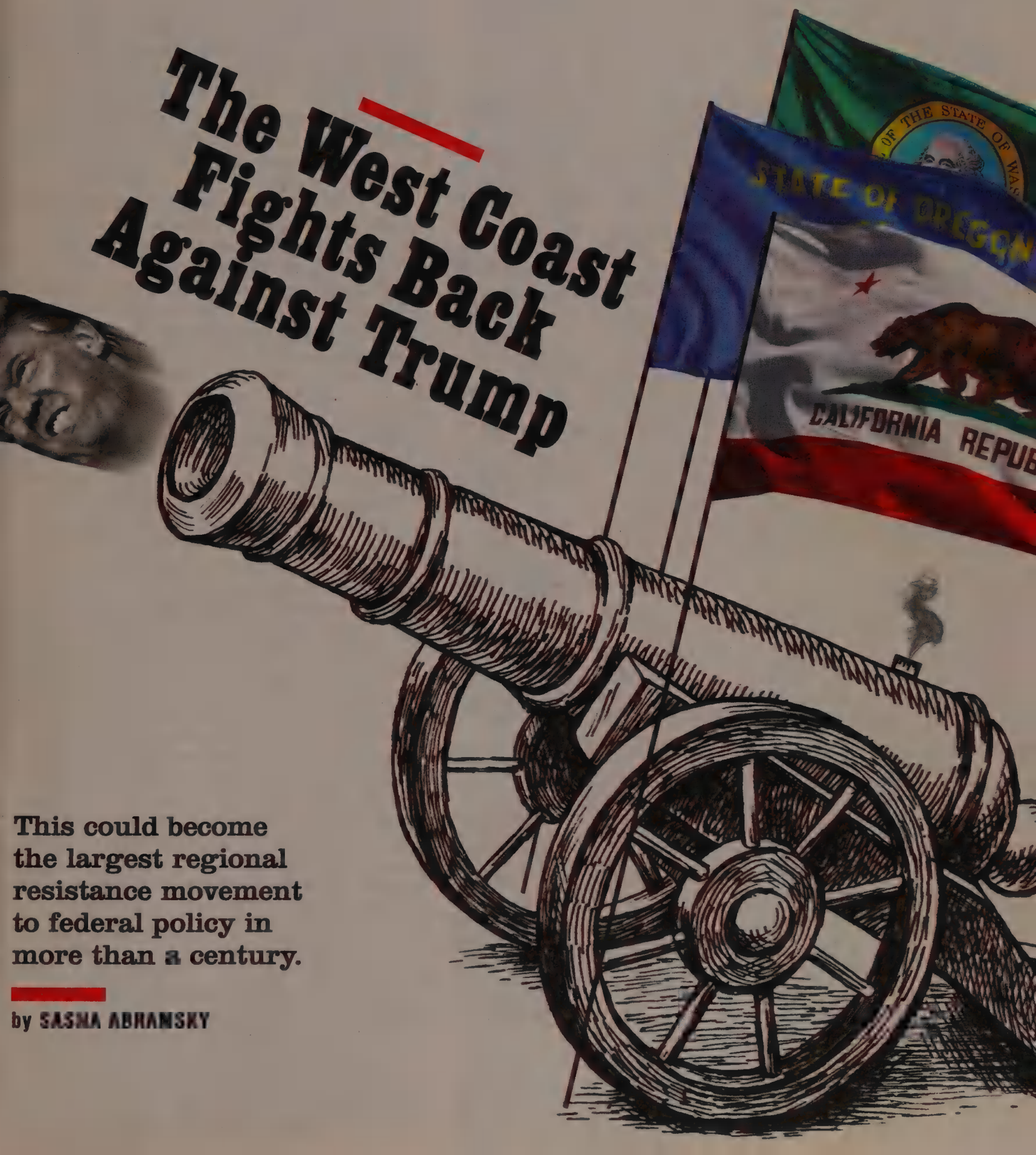
The federal government may have veered sharply right, but California, Oregon, and Washington are experiencing their most progressive political moment in decades. In recent years, all have embraced significant minimum-wage increases, ambitious environmental measures, expanded access to health care, protections for undocumented residents, broad LGBTQ rights, increased spending on mental-health services, and wide-ranging criminal-justice and drug-policy reforms. California now looks dramatically different from the state that passed anti-immigration measures, three-strikes sentencing laws, and the Proposition 13 antitax initiative a generation ago. It looks different even from a decade ago, when it was governed by Republican Arnold Schwarzenegger and fiscally choked by a bipartisan assumption that any tax increases were a political third rail. Recent gains, which include roughly $20 billion in Affordable Care Act funding that underpins the state's massive expansion of health-insurance coverage, have turned the Pacific Seaboard into America's version of a flourishing social democracy. And now it's under sustained attack from the Trump administration.

Since Inauguration Day, all of the large West Coast cities have been roiled by near-daily demonstrations, occupations of airports in response to Trump's assault on refugees and Muslim immigrants, vigils on behalf of the undocumented, and environmental protests. By most estimates, well over 1 million Californians—roughly one in 30 residents—took to the streets for the January 21 women's marches. In Los Angeles County, where groups like the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles have been organizing for years, that number was closer to one in 10. The entire region, from San Diego to Seattle, is a tinderbox, much of its population feeling under assault from Washington, and many of its top politicians now viewing the Trump administration as something akin to an occupying force.

It's in these three states, with nearly a sixth of the US population and a fifth of the US economy, that a successful regional opposition to Trumpism is most likely to take hold over the coming months and years.

Sitting in his plush office in Sacramento's Capitol, Kevin De León, the State Senate president pro tem, talked in almost military terms about the challenges ahead. "There are a variety of battlefronts that can really impact the quality of life of many Americans," he said. "We're in the process of doing a thorough and comprehensive assessment to find the possible remedies to counter any attempt to hit California economically and politically. It's

The West Coast Fights Back Against Trump



This could become the largest regional resistance movement to federal policy in more than a century.

by SASHA ABRAMSKY

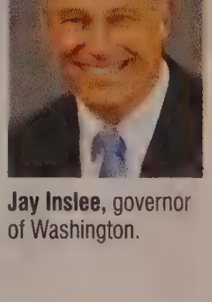
imperative that we join forces with like-minded states. We're talking about legislative remedies that would not be subjugated to any executive order." Regarding the prospect of mass detentions and deportations of immigrants, De León, who represents downtown and East Los Angeles, cut his political teeth in campaigns opposing California's own punitive anti-immigrant measures in the 1990s, acknowledged that "we don't have any jurisdictional powers. That being said, we don't have to use our state and local tax dollars to collaborate. We believe that legally, they don't have the ability to commandeer local police departments."

De León's counterpart in the California Assembly, Speaker Anthony Rendon, is even more outspoken. Rendon is adamant that Trump "has authoritarian tendencies. I can't call it a fascist presidency, given it's been around 72 hours," he said on January 24. "But we have to be very careful. I'm not sure he necessarily believes in democracy." Ted Wheeler, the newly inaugurated mayor of Portland, Oregon, harbors similar suspicions, reacting with what he called "visceral disgust" at the possibility of a Muslim registry, an idea repeatedly floated by Trump and his surrogates during the election campaign. "There are still people who live in this community who have tattoos on their forearms from the last time a nationalist leader registered people," Wheeler declared. "This community is up in arms at the prospect of a registry."

Even so, the states don't have control over immigration policy and related issues like federal registries. As a result, despite Inslee's protestations to the contrary, they may have to bow to some of Trump's vicious edicts. But in the long run, Inslee and his colleagues to the south—Oregon Governor Kate Brown and California Governor Jerry Brown (no relation)—are championing a dramatically different, more inclusive vision than the bigoted one pushed by Trump. And they're banking on overwhelming public support, as well as backing from state legislatures and city officials, to maintain a bulwark against bigotry. "We're not going to shut down the American story here, in this state," Inslee insisted.

"I can't call it a fascist presidency.... But we have to be careful."
—Anthony Rendon, California Assembly Speaker

Kevin De León, president pro tem of the California State Senate.



Jay Inslee, governor of Washington.

For Seattle mayor Ed Murray, an openly gay politician who has championed progressive causes like the $15-an-hour minimum wage and ambitious programs to make the city more energy-efficient and less dependent on fossil fuels, Trump's presidency poses an existential threat. "My instincts tell me that we're dealing with [America's] first authoritarian government," Murray said. "This has for the most part been a nation built on the rule of law. Where the rule of law is strong, the economy is strong." If Trump were to order a deportation force to remove local residents, Murray continued, "at that point we've had a coup. I would not allow my police force to cooperate. The question is: What would they do with me and other mayors on the West Coast? That's a nightmare scenario."

In Portland, Charlie Hales, who stepped down as mayor in January, said of the burgeoning opposition to Trumpism: "I'd characterize it not as West Coast resistance, but as West Coast persistence." The great cities of the region, he explained, are multicultural hubs, places "where the world's beating a path to our door."

Trump has threatened to cut off federal funding to these cities if they persist in declaring themselves sanctuaries for undocumented immigrants, and he signed an executive order to that effect five days into his presidency. But Hales is undeterred, explaining that they've been largely doing without federal help "for a long time." While losing federal education grants, transportation dollars, and law-enforcement cash would hurt, the vast majority of funds for schools, transit systems, and the police are raised locally. "The values our citizens have require us to be welcoming places of safety," Hales said, noting that he and his wife have personally greeted Syrian refugees at his city's airport. "The people of Portland are proud of that fact. We have a long history here of growing by immigration."

Ted Wheeler, Hales's successor, agrees. "This city has a long history of being open and welcoming and inclusive," he said days after Trump's executive order was issued. Over the previous week, the mayor had repeatedly denounced the new policies, often at public protests. "The message this week has been a unified message in Oregon that we will remain a safe and sanctuary community. We will defy this administration. They can claim to have 'alternative facts,' but we are not just going to fall down. These are very important principles for us."

In fact, there's a remarkable unanimity of sentiment coming out of the cities of the Pacific Coast. "You won't see the police department in Los Angeles breaking a 38-year-old policy, Special Order 40—which came under [then–Police Chief] Daryl Gates, who was certainly not seen as a crusading liberal," said Rick Jacobs, the erstwhile deputy mayor of Los Angeles, currently on leave to work on Mayor Eric Garcetti's reelection campaign. That special order prohibited the police from inquiring into people's immigration status, on the assumption that if the LA region's large undocumented population—roughly 750,000—fears that any interaction with police could lead to detention and deportation, they will be far less likely to cooperate in reporting crimes and identifying suspects. "The chief of police and the commissioner and the mayor have all said, 'We're going to continue with that,'" Jacobs added. "I don't see that changing at all."

And if Trump follows through on his threat to defund cities? First off, it's almost certain the courts would step in to minimize the damage. A slew of rulings in recent years—many resulting from lawsuits filed by conservative states against the Obama administration—have held that Washington can cut funds only to those programs directly related to the issue on which it disagrees with the states. And even if the courts don't intervene, Jacobs argued, any attempt to starve California of funds would have significant unintended consequences for the rest of the country, not the least of which would be massive delays in the transport of containerized cargo from the huge port facilities of Long Beach and Los Angeles. Since 34 percent of America's containerized goods enter through those two ports, the rest of the country would likely suffer more than LA if highways and rail systems ceased to function properly due to a federal-funding blockade. That's why Jacobs believes that Los Angeles should hold firm on its sanctuary status and call Trump's bluff: When push comes to shove, he won't go "looking for trouble."

And even if Trump does, LA's leaders believe they'll win. In recent years, the city's voters have demonstrated a willingness to tax themselves to fund vital public transport, education, affordable housing, health care, and environmental investments. Last November, they passed

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a $120 billion bond measure to expand the city's public-transport systems over the coming four decades—one of the largest such measures in the nation's history. If need be, Jacobs believes, Angelenos will do so again to backstop vital programs held hostage by the feds. Similar sentiments have been expressed by other big-city mayors, in California and beyond.

TRUMP'S BLUSTERING GOT HIM INTO THE WHITE House. Now he's trying to govern the same way, issuing a flood of executive orders backed up by menacing, thuggish language, lashing out at immigrants, Muslims, the media, Mexicans, and others. Maybe Trump and his top adviser, Steve Bannon, believe that this will swiftly bludgeon critics into submission. But it turns out that throughout much of the country, people aren't cowed. "Bumper stickers are now going to start to collide with reality," Governor Inslee predicted.

After Trump announced that he would massively increase the deportation resources of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and devote billions to building his great wall, dozens of big-city mayors around the country spoke out in disgust and opposition. California's political leadership promised to slow down the wall by requiring lengthy environmental reviews, and they put forward legislation mandating a state referendum before any construction project gets under way. But the resistance goes far beyond Trump's immigration policies. On a host of issues in the West Coast states, Trump is now running into a solid wall of opposition that links cities, counties, states, and local law enforcement in the big cities with activist groups, students, and faith communities, all united in their refusal to collaborate.

Day by day, that resistance is growing. What was unthinkable months ago is now becoming part of the coastal discourse: One-third of Californians polled by Reuters in the days after Trump's inauguration favored secession, and lawmakers are starting to seriously discuss ways to withhold their federal tax contributions. Former Assembly speaker Willie Brown recently suggested that California could become an "organized nonpayer" of federal income taxes to gain leverage against an administration intent on fiscally punishing regional opponents.

In early January, the California Legislature hired former US attorney general Eric Holder to represent the state in what it believes will be a rolling series of lawsuits against the federal government. Later in the month, Representative Xavier Becerra, long a social-justice champion in the US House, was confirmed as the new state attorney general. During one of his confirmation hearings, Becerra fielded a barrage of questions from Democratic senators like De León about how he'd protect Californians' rights in the face of a federal onslaught. "We do live in very unsettled and unpredictable times, where the greatest threat to our state is the incoming head of state," De León declared. "To paraphrase Churchill, there's a gathering storm, and there are very dark clouds on the horizon for the state of California." How, the State Senate leader wanted to know, would Becerra "take on an administration that doesn't know about the rule of law or care for it?"

Becerra responded in kind. "We're going to do what we need to do to protect the people of California," he said. "If it means going it alone, we will. But in many cases, we'll find willing partners in other states." Asked about his views on the impending clampdown on undocumented residents, Becerra said: "I don't care how we classify them or not, they're human beings." Himself the son of working-class immigrants, his voice rising in anger as he spoke of the 25 percent of California's vast immigrant population who are undocumented, he added: "I'm not going to let any local law enforcement violate their rights."

Jerry Brown, governor of California.

Anthony Rendon, speaker of the California State Assembly.

"What we're saying is 'Hell, no!'"

—Lydia Avila, California Calls

These are extraordinary comments from elected politicians, and they reflect the unprecedented stress that Trump's persona and actions—some apparently impulsive, others almost certainly part of a white-nationalist agenda crafted by Steve Bannon, the Rasputin-like figure at the center of the White House team—have placed on the country's democratic fabric.

ON THE DAY OF TRUMP'S INAUGURATION, A RAINY, cold, gray day in Northern California, the US flag at the elegant, domed Capitol in Sacramento began flying at half-mast. It stayed there for the next several days—throughout the Saturday women's march, which saw well over a million Californians take to the streets, along with huge protests in Oregon and Washington, and into the first full week of Trump's reign. And then, the day that Governor Jerry Brown delivered a fiery State of the State address promising to fight Trump's discriminatory, extremist agenda every step of the way, the flag was hoisted to full mast once more.

I've lived in California for 13 years, and this, to my mind, was its finest hour. The nation's most dynamic, creative, and multicultural state was rising up in outrage, its leaders and the overwhelming majority of its citizens declaring, "Not in our name."

"What we're saying is 'Hell, no! We're the majority. Hold on to your hats. We're going to change things, and it's going to be systemic change,'" vowed Lydia Avila, a senior organizer with the Los Angeles–based alliance of activist groups known as California Calls.

Brown, after months of caution in response to Trump's candidacy and eventual election, didn't leave

The barrio says no: A demonstration against Trump in San Diego.

anything on the table in his Sacramento speech. With his hands stabbing the air for emphasis, the 78-year-old governor, now deep into what is almost certainly his last term in office, laid into the new president on environmental policy, on his treatment of immigrants, and on his willingness to dismantle health-care systems. Brown championed the Paris Agreement on climate change, which Trump has already promised to shred, and reminded Californians that their state had independently brought together 165 signatories, representing a billion people, to tackle the crisis. "We can do much on our own," Brown promised, "and we can join with others—other states and provinces and even countries—to stop the dangerous rise in climate pollution. And we will."

Up and down the West Coast, mayors have made climate change a priority. Along with others from around the country, they attended a global conference of mayors, the C40, held in Mexico City shortly after the presidential election to talk about energy-related changes in their jurisdictions that could move the United States toward large-scale carbon-dioxide reductions, even without federal engagement on the issue. "If 90 C40 cities do what Portland is doing," ex-mayor Hales argued, "it would account for 40 percent of what needs to be done in CO_2 reduction to keep climate change within two degrees. We're bending the curve on our own—with transportation systems, building requirements, using solar."

In his Sacramento speech, Brown vowed to provide substantive backing for the C40 plan, to thunderous applause from the chamber. With much of the world expressing horror at Trump's extremism, Brown was essentially asserting not only California's right but its duty to step into the breach—to justify the state's reputation as what he called "the great exception" (the subtitle of former *Nation* editor Carey McWilliams's classic book on the state more than half a century ago) in the American experiment. "This is a time which calls out for courage and for perseverance. I promise you both."

It was a eureka moment. Finally, here was a politician with clout, a heavy hitter from America's most populous state, standing up for rationality and decency. As the feds turn away from engagement with climate policy, said South Miami Mayor Philip Stoddard, an oceanographer who served in the Obama White House, "California will pick it up," generating data and producing geophysical models that scientists here and overseas can use to study climate change and help protect endangered regions from its impact.

"The federal government can't coerce state and local governments. It can't commandeer them."

—Erwin Chemerinsky, Unversity of California, Irvine, School of Law

Ted Wheeler, mayor of Portland.

WE ARE WITNESSING THE BIRTH OF WHAT COULD become the largest coordinated regional resistance movement to federal policy since the Civil War. Cities and states have had plenty of time to plan their resistance. After all, Trump began promising early in the campaign that he would defund sanctuary cities. For at least six months, West Coast politicians have been studying how to protect their states' interests and limit their vulnerabilities. There are discussions about how to tap liberal philanthropists to backstop possible cuts to state universities' science research. Some have even begun exploring ways to create a regional compact that would provide universal health care across the tristate region; it would, researchers have concluded, cost California—which, because of its size, would have to be at the center of such a plan—roughly $15 to $17 billion annually to implement. That's a large sum, but probably manageable for a state with a $2.5 trillion economy. "We'd have to get creative here at the local level," said Mayor Wheeler, who argued that West Coast electorates will not tolerate a reversion to the pre-ACA days, when so many people lacked health insurance. "I'm energized by the responses of my colleagues around the West Coast. It's getting the creative juices flowing."

To fund these plans, lawmakers are discussing raising state corporate-tax rates to tap some of the money that corporations stand to gain from the large federal tax cuts promised by Trump and congressional Republicans. "Insofar as they do a tax cut for the rich, it puts us in a position to respond most directly," asserted Lenny Goldberg, executive director of the California Tax Reform Association. Goldberg believes that commercial property taxes could also be increased, and that the state might be able to pass tax surcharges to help fund vital health-care and education programs.

The day after the election, Governor Brown reportedly convened an emergency meeting of top officials to examine the risks posed by expected federal actions and work out ways to mitigate them. Since then, those conversations have intensified.

California's political leaders are consulting with leading constitutional-law scholars, like UC Irvine's Erwin Chemerinsky, on how to leverage existing Supreme Court rulings to fight any attempts to defund city schools, health-care programs, universities, and transit systems. Chemerinsky believes that most of the defunding strategies will be ruled unconstitutional if challenged. For example, Trump couldn't block California's Medicaid dollars in response to state actions protecting undocumented immigrants. "The federal government can't coerce state and local governments," explains the legal scholar. "It can't commandeer them."

"California is in a unique position to show the nation our worldview," said Jennie Pasquarella of the ACLU's Southern California chapter. While Section 287G of the US immigration code allows the feds to deputize local sheriffs and police, California would likely preempt this by instructing local law enforcement not to investigate civil immigration offenses. In early December, De León introduced a bill, SB 54, creating blanket prohibitions against cooperation with ICE by local law enforcement, schools, courthouses, and hospitals. Other measures would prohibit state cooperation in establishing religious registries. Cities across the state are creating legal-defense funds for immigrants, and it's likely the State Legislature will pass a bill to fund such a program. On the Monday after Trump's executive order to end refugee admissions and suspend the entry of citizens from seven Muslim-majority countries, California's Legislature voted overwhelmingly to condemn his actions.

"We stand firm," De León averred, "because these are the values of the people of California. There's no doubt in my mind that we can create a progressive bloc of like-minded states and people. States like Washington and California, we're states of creativity and innovation.... We're in the process of evaluating every possible means to protect the values and people of the great state of California." ■

Sasha Abramsky's latest book is Jumping at Shadows: The Triumph of Fear and the End of the American Dream, *to be published by Nation Books in September.*

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Jane McAlevey demands a radical reversal for the labor movement.

POWER PLAYERS

by D.D. GUTTENPLAN

Although she's long been one of the most outspoken—and controversial—critics of the American labor movement, Jane McAlevey doesn't just talk the talk. A veteran of successful organizing campaigns in California, Connecticut, Kansas, New York, and Washington, McAlevey spent five years as executive director of the SEIU's Local 1107 in Las Vegas, before conflicts with the health-care and public-employee union's national office led to her expulsion—a misadventure wryly chronicled in her first book, *Raising Expectations (and Raising Hell): My Decade Fighting for the Labor Movement*. Since then, McAlevey has divided her time between academia—she's currently a postdoctoral fellow in the Labor and Worklife Program at Harvard Law School—and as a consultant for labor unions. We first spoke at the 2016 Democratic National Convention, where, amid the self-congratulation, she cautioned me that "Clinton hadn't sealed the deal" with the white suburban women that McAlevey had met helping to organize Philadelphia-area hospitals. After her warning proved prophetic, we resumed our conversation—this time focusing on the question at the heart of her new book, *No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age*.

The Nation: **This book came out just before the 2016 election. How early did you know that the Clinton campaign was headed for trouble?**

McAlevey: I think the evidence about what was going to go wrong was in the 2010 and 2014 midterms. In some ways, it summarizes my whole critique of the Democratic Party and its key coalition ally, unions. The idea was that they had this Big Data machine that could target the exact voters and gin up turnout—despite all the evidence in 2010 and 2014 that we were actually losing the heartland.... They confused [Obama's] charisma for a scientific GOTV [get out the vote] operation.

The Nation: **What were the things that you saw in 2010 and 2014 that the rest of us missed?**

McAlevey: That we were getting creamed in every statehouse midterm election. That we couldn't get rid of [Wisconsin Governor] Scott Walker. We literally launched a recall; he won it. He ran again; he won it. [Illinois Governor Bruce] Rauner won. In Michigan, the unions put [a measure on the ballot] to enshrine collective bargaining in the Michigan Constitution. These were ballot initiatives—not surveys, not opinion polls. In the heartland of the United Auto Workers, we couldn't win over most union households to vote for collective bargaining. Then, in Wisconsin, we couldn't win over the union households we needed to get rid of the worst antiunion governor in modern times. Those are pretty big indicators we were losing the Rust Belt.

The Nation: **Is the Walker campaign what you would call a "structure test"?**

McAlevey: Absolutely. So was the collective-bargaining deal in Michigan.

The Nation: **Explain what a structure test is, and why the politics we tend to see on the left—progressive politics—evades it.**

McAlevey: I'm trying to differentiate between organizing and mobilizing, and [between] polling and survey data versus structure tests... and the difference is crucial.

Those of us who still win hard strikes, or hard union elections, or big contracts, win because we are running a nonstop series of structure tests. The structure test tells us two things. One is: Have we won over the supermajority of what I call the "organic leaders"—the most trusted workers in any workplace? They're not easily identifiable, so a structure test is how we know if we have them.

Second, can they get a supermajority of their co-workers to sign a petition that they're going to march on their CEO? You're asking individual workers to show through a high-risk action that they're really committed to the cause, because they're putting their name out there publicly and saying, "I'm standing with my co-workers in this moment for the union." This is the core idea of the structure test: They're going to march on their CEO. Good organizers say, "Life is a structure test." With each new structure test, you're increasing their risk. Structure tests assess leadership and commitment in high-risk situations. That's a radically different assessment than responding to a phone poll at your kitchen table.

"The Democrats confused Obama's charisma for a scientific GOTV operation."
—Jane McAlevey

The Nation: **What's the structure that you're testing?**

McAlevey: The agency of the workers to win. You're testing whether or not you've got supermajorities with you inside a defined structure—which is why the Walker recall or the ballot initiative in Michigan was a structure test of the capacity of the ordinary working class in those two states to win. We failed them both—which urgently meant we shouldn't assume we were going to win there in the 2016 cycle. It meant we have to do a massive ground operation that isn't just for a onetime presidential campaign; starting in 2010, 2011, 2012, we should have been aggressively trying to rebuild both the union-household and popular base in those two states, which we didn't do. We did the opposite: We took them for granted. Trump did not.

The Nation: **What makes a supermajority?**

McAlevey: In the workplace, [the bosses] use every tactic Trump and *Breitbart* just used turning the working class against itself: black against white, women against men, Jew against non-Jew. Hate and division and misogyny and racism are the choice weapons in every union-busting fight in this country.

We don't think we can win a simple-majority unionization election (meaning 50 percent plus one) unless our initial numbers show us at about 75 or 80 percent. And for us to hold at the yes-or-no moment for a strike, meaning a *real* strike, we have to hold even higher percentages to win, like 90 percent or more. In order to know whether or not we're going to get 90 percent of the workers to strike—which is how we [won] amazing contracts still in 2016 in America—we launch a series of endless structure tests, because a strike is the ultimate structure test.

We've been running a series of structure tests the entire campaign, because we're building the confidence and the capacity of workers to build a structure that can with-

stand the bosses' blows throughout the entire campaign.

The Nation: **You talk about the shift from deep organizing toward shallow mobilizing. This is where it's going wrong?**
McAlevey: Yeah.

The Nation: **Explain the difference between organizing and mobilizing.**
McAlevey: I try to define "organizing" in really clear terms, because it's a throwaway term right now—like "democracy." Everyone talks about democracy without defining what they mean. Most unions and social-change groups will say they're organizing. I'm arguing that most are not—which is part of why we're losing.

The core difference to me is: What's the role of the workers in the actual effort? Are the workers central to their own liberation? Are they central to the strategy to win a change in their workplace and in their communities? Or are they one teeny piece of a really complicated puzzle in which the workers' voice and opinions are actually not decisive? We are actually running campaigns in this country where the workers' voice has not been decisive for 15 to 20 years.

The Nation: **You call the book *No Shortcuts*. What are the shortcuts?**
McAlevey: Thinking that we can avoid engaging rank-and-file workers. There have been a series of shortcuts over the last 20 years. All of them come down to: How can we do without the messy, hard work of actually engaging ordinary workers, either inside or outside of the unions?

The Nation: **Give us some examples.**
McAlevey: Polling the members—union leadership went from using polls to think about messaging campaigns to realizing, "Shit! We can just poll the members when we want to find something out." Polling has actually replaced organizers inside the union movement.

The second is the corporate campaign—the entire concept of the corporate campaign and creating tactical warfare, which said: "The way we're going to win campaigns in a difficult era is by doing profound brand damage and by costing the employers lots of money if they won't engage with the top union leadership."

The dominant model shifted from having to win majorities in the workplace to the cause of labor to brand damage and costing the employer money to get what are called either EPAs—election-procedure agreements—or card-check and neutrality deals. The shift became: "We have to weaken the employer's resistance to unions to win." Not a bad idea, but along the way they also stopped talking to workers.

Saying that you're engaging workers because you've tweeted them and you've Facebooked them and you threw up a MailChimp survey. Then you can say, "We polled the members, and 60 percent agree with us," or 80 percent. They never tell you that five people filled in the survey.

Consulting the workers has nothing to do with engaging rank-and-file people inside the trade-union membership—let alone campaigning for the hearts and minds of the unorganized working class by actually engaging them, which is what some of us still do.

In organizing, workers have to be central. It relies on what we call a majority strategy, by which I mean a majority of workers have to be involved themselves. That's what structure tests are testing.

McAlevey speaks at the Unions NSW annual dinner in Australia in 2016.

In a corporate campaign or a top-down campaign, workers come in at the end. They're used as symbolic actors. They're the face of the campaign. They're trotted out to make testimony at the legislature about their bad boss, but they're not actually central to the strategy. That's the fundamental difference. The agency for change in the organizing model rests with ordinary people.

"The core question to me is: Are the workers central to their own liberation?"
—Jane McAlevey

The Nation: **It's about where agency is?**
McAlevey: Yeah. That's crucial. Does it lie with the professional staff and a bunch of clever tactics, or does it actually lie with the workers themselves? This is not to say that, in any campaign I've ever run, we're not also bringing in politicians, the community, and other forms of leverage. We are.

In a model of organizing where the workers are central, we see the workers bringing along their own local communities—politicians, ministers, faith leaders, the whole community—as the secondary leverage we need to win the fight. We don't see secondary leverage as crashing the stock of the firm for a day, which is what we're doing in a lot of campaigns in this country.

The Nation: **What about advocacy? How would you distinguish advocacy from [organizing or mobilizing]?**
McAlevey: I'm obviously referring to the Nader groups that grew up in the 1970s. When I say advocacy might be good for [mandating] seat belts and banning dangerous items that kids can eat, that's great—advocacy can do that. It's legal advocacy, lawsuits; it doesn't even pretend to engage ordinary people.

The Nation: **What's your critique of advocacy?**
McAlevey: That it can't win any serious fight. It can win a small gain. There's a role for advocacy, there's a role for mobilizing, and there's a role for organizing. There's even a role for charity. When immigrants come into this country, someone handing them a place to live for the first year and a bunch of clothing for kids who have just come from a war-torn region—that's straight-up charity. But we're not making change on that. Advocacy, there's a role for it, sure… someone wants to build a dam or jam up something, and there's no possible way to win [against it], so people launch a lawsuit. Great.

There's even a role for mobilizing. It's just that the key argument I'm making in the book [is that] to win the hardest fights—like to win a presidential race, to reclaim the United States of America at the statehouse level,

ADAM MARSTERS

to actually tame global capital—we cannot rely on advocacy and mobilizing to do it, because they surrender the most important and only weapon that ordinary people have ever had, which is large numbers.

People think when they go out to a protest, "Hey, that's large numbers." I went to Occupy—wasn't that a lot of people? That's what we all think.

Question one: What people were there? Question two: Did we do a power analysis that told us what it would take to actually occupy Wall Street in a significant way?

It isn't just "Can we get some people to a rally?" It's who are we getting to a rally, it's who got them to the rally, and it's how long can we sustain the rally? That's a really, really fundamental difference. Are ordinary Americans in large numbers turning out to challenge Wall Street? Or are a handful of the most predictable, sane, wonderful, and lovely people that we see at every rally—the same ones—back on the steps of Wall Street? That's not doing it.

Organizing is about base expansion. We have to significantly expand the base of people in this country who are standing with us, from which we then mobilize. That's what we've stopped doing since about the early 1970s.

The Nation: **You also talk about the difference between activists and leaders. I think that's pertinent in the same way.**

McAlevey: Yeah, it's absolutely crucial. Mobilizing is an activist-driven approach. Activists are the already converted who are not full-time professionals, or it could be full-time professionals in the movement—either one—but it's people who are already with us. They already agree that Wall Street's a problem; they already think that climate [change] is a problem; they already think that racism is a problem. They're already standing with Black Lives Matter.

"The Fight for $15 makes workers symbolic actors in their own liberation."
—Jane McAlevey

The problem is, our numbers aren't great enough anymore, because we've let our base wither for about 45 years. At the same time progressive movements were shifting from grassroots organizing to an activist-centric and staff-centric mobilizing model, the right wing in the 1970s—starting with Phyllis Schlafly [defeating] the Equal Rights Amendment—began to build a huge grassroots base. They built the Christian Coalition, the Moral Majority, the Eagle Forum, STOP ERA.... This is the base that was Trump's ground game—and people missed it because they weren't on his campaign payroll.

The Nation: **Let's talk about power-structure analysis.**

McAlevey: We have a systematic approach to analyzing the social-structural conditions in any given region, any city, state.... I mostly think of it in the context of doing social-structure analysis in labor markets. Part of why I think union organizing is so powerful and interesting is because we see the world the same way capital does: like a series of labor markets, not just a series of cities.

What's different about the way I think about power-structure analysis is that it's about how capitalists and the employer class relate within areas that we can control and contest for, which are regional labor markets. What the traditional union movement does is, when they're doing a corporate-campaign analysis, they're not looking at the social-structural conditions around the employer. They're just analyzing supply, root supplier, supply chain, pension funds, investor funds, hedge funds....

The Nation: **Presumably you look at all that, too.**

McAlevey: We do. But the point is, they're not doing a social-structure analysis to figure out how you bring the community over. I'm arguing we can win by cracking the power of the employer in labor markets, by doing a social-structure analysis of who they're connected to and how they sustain themselves in regional markets. Who are all the workers that we have, who in the community are they connected to, what churches do they attend—or synagogues, or whatever it is?

Using power-structure analysis the way I think of it, mapping the ordinary relationships of thousands of workers automatically begins to re-expand into the broader community a sort of renewed love for unions and the role they play in our communities. That will change the union-household vote in important elections.

The Nation: **Let's talk about the Fight for $15.**

McAlevey: Look, the Fight for $15 is a totally worthwhile and noble effort. It is, however, a mobilizing and campaign model. It has not yet shown us—and I don't believe it can—how to build an expanded, sustainable base of people, which is what we need to rebuild power to go up against capital in a vicious new Gilded Age under Trump.

The Fight for $15 makes workers symbolic actors in their own liberation. A strike means you're causing and creating a significant crisis for your employer. It means 90 percent or more of the workers walk off the job.

If you want to win, we say, you have to create a significant crisis for the employer. A strike where one worker at the fast-food company stands outside for the press conference, surrounded by every liberal clergy member in town and a bunch of great activists who you've Facebooked and tweeted, and they showed up because they think it's morally the right thing to do—which it is—is not a strike. It's what I call "pretend power." Fooling ourselves with pretend-power gimmicks has resulted in 32 state legislatures flipping red, 34 Republican governors, and Trump in the White House.

The Nation: **OK, this brings me to my last question: Going forward, what is your sense of (a) promising roads and (b) priorities for protection and resistance?**

McAlevey: They're a bit different. The priorities for protection suggest more of a mobilizing model: That's what we have to do in the immediate. The problem is, that's not going to be how we get out of this mess.

The Nation: **No, but it's necessary, isn't it?**

McAlevey: Absolutely. In the short term, we have to do a ton of protection around the Dreamers, around DACA [Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals]. We have to do immediate mobilization around immigrants in a serious way. We have to do immediate mobilization, frankly, around the existing unions that are out there in this country.

But the most exciting work taking place in the United States is at the local, regional, and state levels—it's not nationally. At the local, regional, and state levels, we still have a set of trade unions who are winning against very stiff odds. What's hopeful to me is that, where people are still doing deep organizing, we are still winning. ■

D.D. Guttenplan is The Nation*'s editor at large.*

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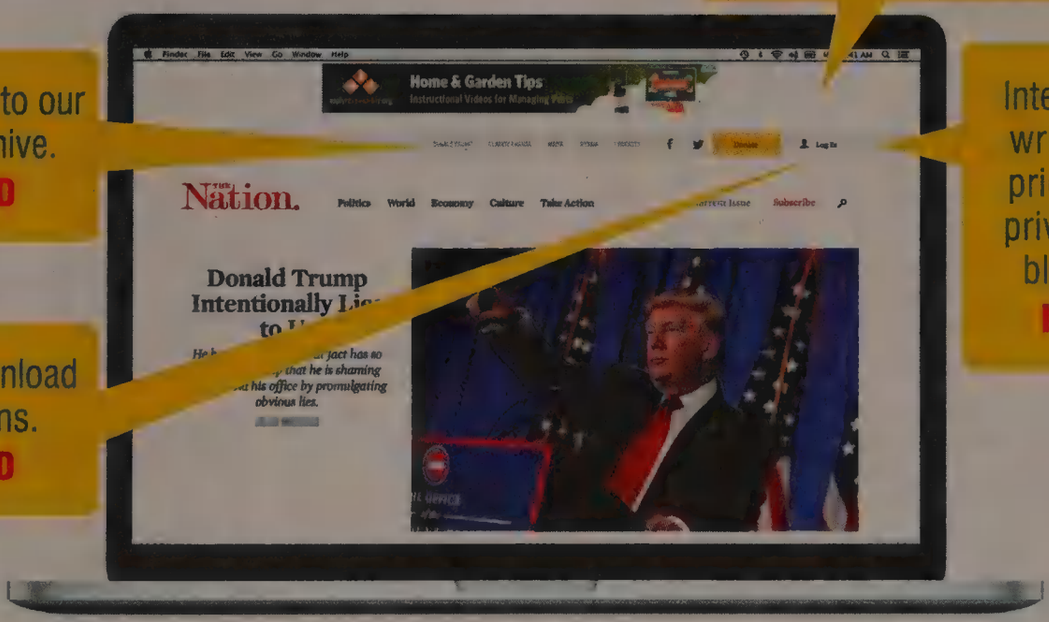

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INTERNET: Each issue is also made available at TheNation.com.
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Letters

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(continued from page 2)

a liberal Christianity that needs to be revealed and rediscovered, but the public face of that Christianity.

Over the course of a dozen years since I began my career as a "young Christian committed to social and economic justice," there have been more opportunities than I could commit to. In my congregation as well as in my Lutheran cohort, ecumenical Christian groups, and interfaith coalitions, I've been part of the work for fair housing, racial equity, the peace movement, climate action, Palestinian rights, post-9/11 reconciliation, LGBTQ inclusiveness, criminal-justice reform, access to health care, minimum-wage increases, education, and more. The goals, priorities, and ways to engage have been readily apparent.

On the other hand, in my lifetime the public face of Christianity has almost always been conservative, defined by the religious right, the Moral Majority, and presumptions that "if you're a Christian, you'll vote this way." I believe that recent history does show that tide to be turning. One example is that, in my time as a subscriber, *The Nation* has generally defined itself against Christianity, but the openness to Harvey Cox (and Marilynne Robinson and the Rev. William Barber, etc.) indicates a broader, better understanding and potential.

After this election, I perceive an opening to redefine public Christianity. While the old voting bloc could be rallied solely by superficial antiabortion appeals, this is a moment for redefining and reengaging with our identity as followers of Jesus—a faith that can never be limited to an isolated value or single priority but is the heart and wholeness of how we live our lives.

Rev. Nick Utphall
Madison, Wis.

Logic for Puzzling Times

Like a lot of Americans, on November 8, I came down with a whopping case of EDS: Election Depression Syndrome—or is it Evil Donald Syndrome?

So after returning from a trip to try to escape the horror, what joy to find in my mail *The Nation* with a Trump-themed puzzle by Joshua Kosman and Henri Picciotto [Jan. 16/23]. It challenged my mind (as do all J&H puzzles) and made me laugh. I struggled for the answers but was reminded by them that, yes, working together, we do have a plan to combat that horrible disease sweeping the nation.

Thanks, Joshua and Henri. You are the best.

Sandra Miley
Sherrill, N.Y.

Corrections

Katha Pollitt's "The Fight for Choice" [Feb. 6/13] incorrectly referred to Bei Bei Shuai and Jennifer Whalen as women who'd been arrested for attempting to self-abort. Although the charges they faced were related to abortion, neither attempted to self-abort.

Zephyr Teachout's "In Foreign Pay" [Feb. 6/13] stated that the Trump Tower lease held by the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China is up for renewal in 201. It is up in 2017.

Amy Wilentz's "This Particular Daddy's Girl" [Feb. 20] described Ivana Trump and her parents as Croatian. They are Czech.

"For Keith Ellison" [Feb. 20] stated that Ellison backed Hillary Clinton for president last fall. He endorsed her in the summer.

Books & the Arts.

MARX'S REVENGE

He may have lived a 19th-century life, but his ideas keep coming back with a vengeance

by BENJAMIN KUNKEL

The many biographies of Karl Marx bring out a basic paradox in Marxism. Biographies are typically narratives of the lives of important figures who loom large against the backdrop of history. Yet Marxism, or "the materialist conception of history," as the young Marx and his friend and collaborator Friedrich Engels called it, warned from the start against reading the past as the affair of solitary individuals rather than antagonistic classes. In particular, they argued that abstract ideas grew out of material circumstances instead of the other way around—and yet what secular ideology or political tradition emphasizes the special contribution of a lone thinker more than Marxism?

Marx himself would have been sensitive to this paradox. Of the half-dozen most important books in his bookish youth, one was a biography that downplayed the importance of a famous in-

Benjamin Kunkel is the author of Indecision *(a novel),* Utopia or Bust *(essays), and* Buzz *(a play).*

ILLUSTRATION BY **TIM ROBINSON**

dividual by the name of Jesus of Nazareth. David Strauss's *Life of Jesus* was published in 1835, when Marx was in his late teens. Strauss didn't deny the validity of Jesus's teachings or question his historical existence; his book scandalized or, as in the case of Marx and Engels, excited German readers by arguing that the events of the Gospels weren't factual occurrences but myths, collectively dreamed up by early Christians many years after Christ. Bruno Bauer, Marx's mentor when he was working on his dissertation in Berlin, went further and declared Jesus an outright invention of the Gospel writers. The point was not, however, to undermine the "absolute idea" (in Bauer's Hegelian vocabulary) of Christianity; it was to establish "human self-consciousness as the highest divinity," as Marx (borrowing another Hegelian term) summarized the argument. Sacred truths were to be recognized as collaborative human artifacts, without necessarily forfeiting their truth in the process.

All of this may be so, but it leaves another problem intact: Why do some rare individuals become the vehicles of universal ideas, when almost all others do not? Socialism and communism predate Marx, and an international workers' movement would have arisen in the 19th and 20th centuries had he never lived. (Of Marx's eight siblings, only three saw the age of 25.) But Marx did live to write *Capital* and other evidently imperishable texts, and so we are left to contemplate an intellectual current and political tendency that has cited him at every step. His thought so deeply inflects later history that his and Engels's dictum about the nature of historical change—"Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life"—can appear upended.

In perhaps the most enduring biographical portrait of Marx in English, the chapters devoted to him in Edmund Wilson's *To the Finland Station* (1940), Marx culminates a series of historical thinkers that begins with Michelet and inaugurates a lineage of political actors that ends with Lenin. Wilson's perspective belongs to the 1930s, the decade in which he wrote the book, and there is also a hint of self-portrait in his description. This Marx is at the center of the ongoing enterprise of mastering—in the senses both of understanding and controlling—history, even after he finally collapses over his worktable as another man might die in battle.

The heroic image didn't survive the fall of communism. But the decades since the end of the Cold War have been something of a golden age of Marx biographies, with the ongoing publication of the collected works of Marx and Engels in a reunified Germany permitting researchers a fuller and more disabused understanding of the figure's life. Among full-length biographies, Francis Wheen's brisk and gossipy life from 1999 tells the most entertaining story, while Jonathan Sperber's 2013 effort delivers the richest work of history. In 2006, David McLellan published a revised edition of his 1973 book, simply titled *Karl Marx: A Biography*, for a generation the standard account and still the best-written and most psychologically acute.

Gareth Stedman Jones's *Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion* is the latest instance of this postcommunist proliferation. If Wilson presented Marx's life as a fundamental moment in a revolutionary project still under way, Stedman Jones has something like the opposite purpose in mind: He portrays a Marx who, as a creature of the public controversies and sectarian intrigues of his time, belongs to the past rather than the future, his thought a historical curiosity with little enduring explanatory power. Stedman Jones, a professor of history in England who was once a frequent contributor to the *New Left Review* but no longer identifies as a revolutionary socialist, dismisses the "mythology" surrounding Marx that "had already begun to be constructed at the time of [his] death in 1883," especially in Germany and Russia. The mythology purveyed the image of "a forbidding bearded patriarch and lawgiver, a thinker of merciless consistency with a commanding vision of the future. This was Marx as the twentieth century was—quite wrongly—to see him."

In restoring Marx to "his nineteenth-century surroundings," Stedman Jones would like to replace the mythical or, more accurately, heroic image of the man with that of a mere historical character, personally flawed and politically confused. Throughout the book, he accordingly refers to "Karl" rather than "Marx." The device of insolent familiarity (as if a guy called Gareth weren't quite due the respect of someone named Stedman Jones) is misleading, since Marx's family didn't call him Karl but "the Moor," on account of his dark complexion, while Engels addressed his letters "Dear Marx." But Stedman Jones's convention entails a serious implication: If "Karl" essentially belongs to the 19th century, then Marx can't be too relevant to the 21st, and we ought to go about our thinking and organizing without him.

Karl Marx
Greatness and Illusion
By Gareth Stedman Jones
Harvard University Press. 768 pp. $35

Born on May 5, 1818, in Trier, a city in the German Rhineland, Marx was the third child of Jewish converts to Christianity. His father Heinrich, né Herschel, had no choice except to fall in with the Lutheran Church if he wished to practice law in Prussia, but he also seems to have felt some genuine esteem for what he called "the pure morality of the Gospel." Heinrich worked as jurist for the local appellate court, and in his father's comfortable household Marx acquired bourgeois tastes that as an adult he never shed, even in the depths of poverty. (Clothes must be respectable, and at least one servant kept.)

Stedman Jones chides the teenage Marx for "a high degree of self-absorption" and speaks of his "infatuation with the idea of himself as a poet." But you don't often get a kid as bright as Marx without some self-absorption. Nor was Marx wrong in the estimate of his verbal gifts; in adulthood, they simply went to prose instead of verse. The summer he was 18, Marx became engaged to a young aristocratic woman, four years his senior, named Jenny von Westphalen, for whom he copied out these lines: "Jenny! Do I dare avow / That in love we have exchanged our souls / That as one they throb and glow / And that through their waves one current rolls?" As overheated juvenilia go, this pledge of union was not inaccurate, in a darker way than either youthful soul-exchanger could guess. Seven years into their engagement and not long after the death of Jenny's wary father, she and her bourgeois suitor wed at last. Together, Jenny and the Moor (who some 20 years later was proud to note her lasting reputation as "the most beautiful girl in Trier") would endure exile, much hardship and illness, and the death of four children.

"Every word is Deed and Fire / And my bosom like the Maker's own," Marx's poem went on. The ambition of all committed writers is that words should amount to fiery deeds, but Marx was not at first a dedicated agitator or writer. In his early college days in Bonn, he preferred drinking and dueling; only after transferring to the University of Berlin did he buckle down to serious study. Disappointed not to have obtained a teaching position after submitting his dissertation on the materialist philosophy of Epicurus, he went on to a peripatetic career as a journalist and editor.

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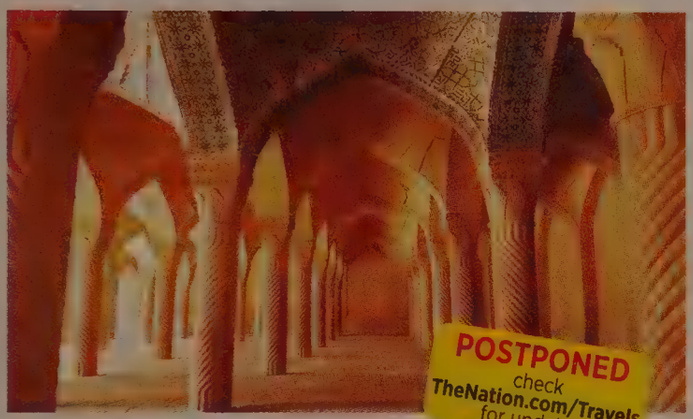

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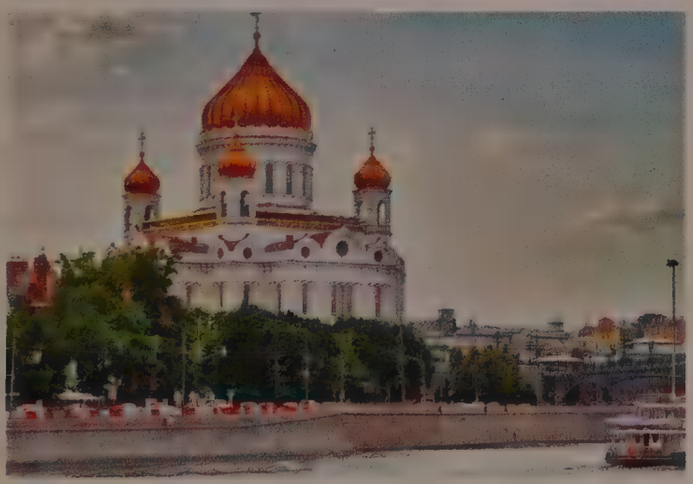

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Anxiety

Cat claws on the heart's tin roof, each breath
a locomotive running off the rails,
the switching signal's warning rat-a-tat,
I'm up too early, the alphabet net snags
and tears, moths, then motes, then gone. What I love,
I undo, eye for eye, tooth for tooth.
No one knows me, matchstick Guy Fawkes doll,
my burnt head micro-ember sunset gleams,
day moon hostage to the dark's slant dream.
What ghosts I have I won't or can't give up.
Impossible to love or leave, poor self
banging its head, wanting—what?
As if I knew what I meant or wanted,
baby voice humming: mouth skull smile.

CYNTHIA ZARIN

Marx returned to the German Rhineland, and aged 24 he was named editor in chief of Cologne's *Rheinische Zeitung*, where the policy was to question the legitimacy of the Prussian state without running afoul of its censors. In 1843, when the government appeared poised to ban the increasingly confrontational *Zeitung*, Marx resigned. He had grown tired, as he explained to a friend, of "bowing and scraping, dodging and hair-splitting over words. Consequently, the government has given me back my freedom. I can do nothing more in Germany."

Governments were often restoring Marx's freedom by expelling him. Flight to Paris with his new bride established a pattern that would hold across the 1840s: Marx arrives in a new city, entangles himself in revolutionary politics and seditious journalism, and before long is ordered out of the country.

In Paris, Marx joined the radical League of the Just and founded the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, or *Franco-German Yearbooks*. Its sole issue, which contained an article by Engels, "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy," that might reasonably be considered the founding document of Marxism, inspired the Prussian government to issue arrest warrants for Marx and his colleagues.

Marx also contributed to the Paris-based German-language socialist journal *Vorwärts!*, or *Forward!*, until the French Ministry of the Interior shuttered its offices. Displaced to Belgium, he became president of the Brussels chapter of the Communist League. This "international association of workers"—in reality, a minuscule secret society—commissioned Marx to draw up a program. Hastily composed in early 1848, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* both anticipated and, at least in Germany, abetted the revolutions that broke out across Europe later that year.

The Communist Manifesto, as it came to be known, declares that human history to date is the history of class struggles, which end "either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes" and foresees that, after a succession of ever-greater economic crises and "the organization of the proletariat into a class, and consequently a political party," bourgeois society will be made to yield to communism, in which "the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all."

Arguably the most famous pamphlet ever written and the most important piece of universal literature since the Quran, the *Manifesto* had been all but forgotten a year after its publication, when the revolutionary mood ebbed away. The month after it first appeared, Marx, under suspicion—incorrectly, it seems—of using an inheritance from his mother to fund insurrection, was ordered to leave Belgium.

In a letter, Marx complained that Jenny had also been arrested and "locked up in a dark room with prostitutes," though "her only crime consists in the fact that, although belonging to the Prussian aristocracy, she shares the democratic opinions of her husband." Marx's snobbish pride in his wife's background and snobbish disdain for women compelled into sex work are enough to show that the "ruthless criticism of all that exists" that he'd enjoined upon himself wasn't enough to uproot all of his own prejudices. (The more advanced feminist was Engels, who looked forward to a postrevolutionary "generation of men who never in their lives have known what it is to buy a woman's surrender with money or any other social instrument of power.")

Marx ventured a return to Cologne in the revolutionary year of 1848 to launch the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, only to see the radical daily suppressed the following year. A final issue, printed in red ink after Marx was ordered to leave Prussia within 24 hours, declared for a revolutionary "social republic." Stedman Jones faults the *Zeitung* for opposing the new Prussian Constitution, which, by establishing a national assembly, diluted the king's authority while leaving the monarchy intact. Throughout this biography, he complains that Marx missed the centrality of political representation, as distinct from economic power, as both a goal and a means of working-class struggle.

The criticism is fair and important, but Marx's skepticism toward piecemeal democracy was borne out by many of the events he witnessed. The continent-wide revolutions of 1848 produced no social republics but only, in varying combinations, absolutist reaction or bourgeois enfranchisement. The quandary over bourgeois democracy has hardly been solved since. In the early 21st century, it is difficult to feel that liberal theorists have ever satisfactorily explained how the franchise should either compensate for or one day overcome the absence of economic justice in capitalist society.

Marx and his growing family (there were now three children) crossed the English Channel in 1849. England was by this time a stable enough capitalist and parliamentary state that it could host continental radicals without much anxiety, and Marx made his home in London for the rest of his years.

The first of these were inglorious and hard. In spite of having pawned Jenny's silver and sold her furniture, the family, with their servant Helene "Lenchen" Demuth, could afford to live only in overcrowded Soho—"a choice district for cholera," as Marx observed. The note of indignant facetiousness in his mature writings can also be heard in his reports of household poverty: "A week ago I reached the pleasant point where I am unable to go out for want of the coats I have in pawn, and can no longer eat meat for want of credit." When Franziska Marx, all of 1 year old, died of a lung condition in 1852, her parents required a gift of £2 from a sympathetic French emigrant to purchase her diminutive coffin. All told, three of the Marxes' children died on Dean Street, two as infants and another before he reached the age of 10.

Ill health and uneasy minds—Karl had liver trouble and was irritable, Jenny had weak lungs and was depressed—form the constants in the mid-1850s. Yet life doesn't seem to have been completely dour. A Prussian police spy reported that "as a husband and father, Marx, in spite of his wild and reckless character, is the gentlest and mildest of men," and Jenny later numbered her days in Marx's "little study copying his scrawly articles" among "the happiest of my life." For decoration, the family had wildflowers plucked from Hampstead Heath and, for entertainment, readings out loud from Shakespeare. Inheritances from better-off relatives (in a letter to Engels, Marx vulturishly reports "a very happy event, the death of my wife's 90 year old uncle") occasionally improved the quality of the family's lodgings, but the Marxes always remained hard-pressed people with genteel standards. The daughters could not consider paid work, needing to learn foreign languages and the piano, the better to make eligible matches.

From 1852 to 1862, Marx earned his living as a correspondent for the *New-York Daily Tribune*, at the time the newspaper with the largest circulation in the world. In his hastily worked-up English, he turned out twice-weekly columns, mainly on European affairs, which the ever-loyal Engels sometimes composed for him. Though Marx would rather have been producing books, his decades as a journalist lie behind much of his special character as a writer, his brash phrase-making and wide and ready command of information setting him apart from other major economic thinkers. (Keynes, who wrote many articles for *The Times* of London, supplies a partial exception.) If Marx is at once the grimmest and most abstract and the liveliest and most entertaining of theoretical minds, this is partly because the philosopher was also a newspaperman.

Economic distress stalked the family until 1863, when an inheritance from Marx's mother purchased some relief. If he'd died before this time, his name would hardly be known; by the mid-1860s, almost none of his earlier writings was in print. Having announced that he was laying a new intellectual foundation for socialism, Marx proceeded to publish *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, which even his friends found disappointing—a sort of throat-clearing for a speech that remained unpronounced. Marx next wasted a year on *Herr Vogt*, a 300-page polemic against a fellow radical German émigré. Were he alive today, his friends might describe him as a brilliant guy with misplaced priorities.

As with many writers' lives, the consequential years were outwardly the least dramatic. Between 1863 and 1867, Marx worked hard, often in the Reading Room of the British Museum, on the book he would call *Capital*. The long and miscellaneous work remains indelible for, at a minimum, its account of how commodities disguise social relationships among human beings as price relationships among things; its location of the essence of profit in unpaid labor; its close description of the English workplace; and its tracing of the arc of capitalist history.

How does that arc bend? Capital is money that purchases labor power and means of production for the sake of producing commodities that can be sold for a greater sum of money than was initially advanced—and this simple concept contains the germ of a capitalist earth. (Marx imagined *Capital* as the first of six books, the last of which would anatomize the "World Market.") Wealth acquired prior to capitalism through acts of plunder or "primitive accumulation" becomes capital once submitted to competition for private profit. Capital accumulation, in which future profits gather atop past profits, is then erected as the law of society. Over time, the compulsion to cheapen commodities, and thereby maximize profit, by reducing labor costs causes the ratio of machines to workers in production to rise. It also concentrates wealth in proportionally ever-fewer hands and renders a great part of the population unemployed and, from the point

Late Afternoon

(for Alice Truax)

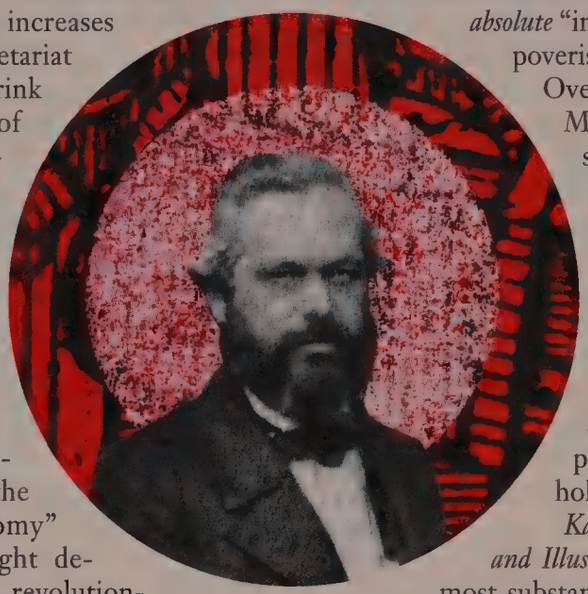
Three pairs of binoculars but which one works—
why do we say "pair" when we mean one?
What we see is what we are—the swimming
pool's black shadow eye-mote, a mole, drowned,
its stiff bird feet a blurred ideogram.
Fetch the net. The day's stuck fast. Feverish
July, lilies mark the lawn, crimson,
yellow, tangerine, a Palio, each bloom
a pony with its tongue mete out. Beyond
the big white tent, a giant's handkerchief,
the red-hot smokehouse writes its blue cursive.
When I was a girl, I made friends with a willow
and gave it the gift of my loneliness—
How near is near? How far is far?

CYNTHIA ZARIN

of view of capital, superfluous.

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation," Marx writes, "grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself."

Marx's anticipation that working-class organization would keep pace with and, at length, overcome capitalism seems, from the vantage point of today, motivated by too much hope and not enough logic. His theory cogently implies that as technical productivity increases the industrial proletariat will eventually shrink as a proportion of the total workforce, much as it has done. What it fails to explain is how other sorts of workers—whether service-industry employees in rich countries, or wageless denizens of the "informal economy" in poor ones—might develop the kind of revolutionary class cohesion that he expected of factory hands.



Marx's so-far mistaken expectation of working-class revolution is the tragic flaw in his outline. (E.M. Cioran once described Marxism as "the sin of optimism.") But the rest of his sketch of history remains remarkably prescient, and from Robert Brenner and Giovanni Arrighi to Jason W. Moore and Nancy Fraser, it has grounded many of the most persuasive visions of our own moment.

In light of this, Stedman Jones's assessment of *Capital* is extraordinarily ungenerous. Appreciative of the "two thirds of the book" that are "devoted to a fact-based depiction of the development and current state of the relations between capital and labor, mainly in England," he all but dismisses it as a work of economic or social analysis: "If *Capital* became a landmark in nineteenth-century thought, it was not because it succeeded in identifying the 'laws of motion' of capital." Allowing that Marx drew a "powerful picture" of the English working class, he asserts that *Capital* did not "succeed in establishing a logically compelling connection between the advance of capitalist production and the immiseration of producers."

Two pervasive shortcomings of Stedman Jones's approach are on display in these lines. The first is a tiresome habit of pleonasm: Here is an author who will never say "establish" when he might say "succeed in establishing" or "logical" instead of "logically compelling." A graver fault is tendentiousness. The lines above furnish one small example. From Stedman Jones's biography, you wouldn't know that Marx's argument that capitalism has a tendency to reduce the share of labor income *relative* to capital income has nothing to do with any *absolute* "immiseration" or impoverishment of workers. Over recent decades, Marx's thesis has been sufficiently reinforced both by statistics on income distribution and by non-Marxian theoretical work (e.g., Piketty) that it won't do to present it, without explanation, as a gaping hole in his case.

Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion looks to be the most substantial intellectual biography of its subject yet written. For this reason, it's too bad there isn't more lucid and compact summation and less clothy, prejudicial paraphrase.

Marx's last decades brought some measure of satisfaction and recognition. *The Civil War in France*, his defense of the short-lived Paris Commune of 1871 as a harbinger of communism, attracted unaccustomed attention, and *Capital* began to be acknowledged as a work of the first importance. The rediscovery of *The Communist Manifesto* was sparked in 1872, when the German government tried several leaders of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) for treason; the prosecution read the offending document into the court record, enabling it to be published legally in Germany for the first time.

The political climate for radicals was changing, as secret societies gave way to mass parties. Marx became an effective leader of the collection of radical and trade-unionist groups known as the First International, in spite or because of his penchant for falling out with comrades of comparable brilliance. (Lassalle and Bakunin are the main instances.) At a London conference in 1871, he advocated a women's section of the International Workingmen's Association, as it was officially called. Less admirably, he and Engels the next year encouraged the breakup of the International: Marxist socialists on one side, Bakuninite anarchists on the other.

The split is regrettable not only because it divided the strength of the left, but because the gravamen of each side's critique of the other was correct. The anarchists *were* naive and impractical about political organization, as the Marxists alleged. And Marxism *was* susceptible to authoritarianism, as Bakunin argued and the 20th century demonstrated.

If Stedman Jones unfairly criticizes Marx's economic ideas, he is right to stress the fatal ambiguities of his politics. In his 1875 polemic with Lassalle over the program of the SPD, Marx showed himself indifferent to "the old democratic litany familiar to all—universal suffrage, direct legislation, popular rights, a people's militia, etc."—that in previous decades he had endorsed. Democracy, he implied, would come after the revolution, not before it. (The notorious phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" is usually misconstrued: Marx took bourgeois democracy to be one kind of class dictatorship, while socialist democracy would constitute another kind. Presumably, once the exploiting classes were dissolved, full democracy could arise.) Marx's confusion over the strategic value of democratic protocols prior to revolution has haunted the Western left ever since.

Marx can also be accused of cloudiness on a related question. Late in life, he appeared to abandon the proposition that socialism must emerge from a mature capitalism, as both the *Manifesto* and *Capital* implied. In drafts of letters to a Russian correspondent, Vera Zasulich, he suggested that less-developed nations might leapfrog the stage of full-blown capitalism and proceed directly to socialism, and in a preface to the Russian edition of the *Manifesto*, he speculated that "the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for a communist development."

Many 20th-century Marxists took these brief and tentative texts as a warrant for socialist revolution in the Third World. Setting them against Marx's earlier "stagist" notion of the advent of socialism through

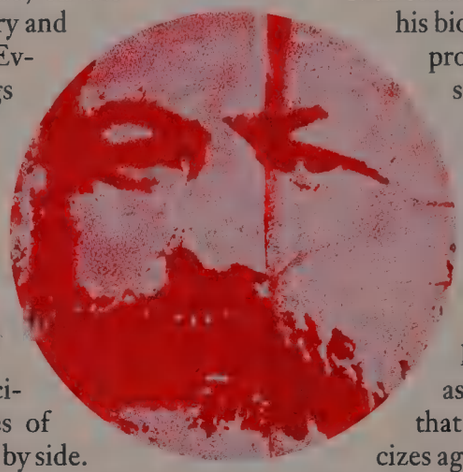
the fulfillment of capitalism, Stedman Jones taxes Marx the political theorist with illusion—one of the words of his book's subtitle. But the other is "greatness," an apt word not only for the conclusions Marx reached, but for the questions he formulated and left unanswered. In truth, it is no more clear in our time than it was in Marx's how socialism will come about in either developed or underdeveloped countries; what *is* clear is that for humanity to have a decent future, it must come about. Here lies the abiding dilemma of the left.

Marx died on March 14, 1883, from a hemorrhaged ulcer on the lung. He had survived his wife Jenny and also, heartbreakingly, his daughter Jenny, the eldest and best-loved of his children. The steady diet of grief administered across Marx's life by the deaths of siblings and offspring may explain the mixture of steeliness (he could hardly pause to mourn) and compassion (he could hardly cease to mourn) characteristic of him as a thinker and a person. At Marx's funeral, Engels gave a graveside speech to the 10 people present: "His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work." Stedman Jones refrains from quoting this forecast, which looks to have been correct.

By any reasonable criteria—the fascination of his person, the achievement of his work, the scope of his influence—Marx counts as a great man. But there exists no great full-scale biography of him, capturing his spirit and ideas in their complexity.

In his studious reconstruction of Marx's social milieu and intellectual formation, Stedman Jones comes close at times, but he imparts little of the enthusiasm, anxiety, hope, and dread that Marx can only have felt as a person who, like anyone else, had to live his life as a project and try to understand it as history. Stedman Jones seems to take for granted Marx's posthumous eminence in a way that Marx, even at his most grandiose, naturally could not do himself. The result is a story deprived of the drama of uncertain expectation that informs any life, especially one devoted to the hypothesis of a new kind of society. And yet the shape of the story—as singular, jagged, and intent as the key to some door—still comes through, a bit as if you were reading a great novel in what you suspect is a so-so translation.

What would a properly Marxist life of Marx look like? Jean-Paul Sartre, in his Marxist phase, worried about the problem of biography. In *Search for a Method* (1957), he presents individual human life as the zone of two overlapping but incommensurable truths: On the one hand, an individual is a creature of psychology and the product of his family, and, on the other, a creature of history and a product of society. Everyone knows both things are true at one and the same time, but rather than comprehending people as instances of that single substance that Sartre calls "History," we understand them alternately as psychological or social specimens, the broken halves of our knowledge lying side by side.



A Marxist biography of Marx would at the very least de-emphasize the role of Marx himself in fashioning the unique person that he was. It was one favorable accident that he received a supremely good education at a time when most of Europe remained illiterate; it was another that the distinct strains of thought braided together in his work—German philosophy, English political economy, and French socialism, in Lenin's famous summary—were still new enough in the mid-19th century that all three could be mastered by a single person, especially if an exile's life familiarized him with the trio of respective countries and languages.

Intellectual monuments are as a rule also the work of forces beyond the author's own, and people other than himself. Marx was assisted in his labors by two intimates above all: Friedrich Engels and Jenny Marx. Along with encouragement and collaboration, Engels offered money, not to mention organizing and editing the posthumous volumes of *Capital*. For her part, Jenny kept Marx's home, family, body, and self-belief intact through what Marxist feminists call care work—an element of capitalist society whose importance, unlike that of money, Marx didn't dwell on. Mary Gabriel's *Love and Capital* (2011), a joint biography of Karl and Jenny, does much to illuminate Jenny's indispensable contribution to Marx's heroic scribbling and to begin this kind of work.

Another decisive piece of good fortune for Marx's ideas was that he wrote in German, which made his thought easily accessible to the emerging parliamentary left in his native country. After 1875, the German Social Democrats were declaredly Marxist and became crucial in spreading his work. Had a French party, say, acquired the same stature as the SPD had, today there might be more Proudhonists and fewer Marxists. In such a case, Stedman Jones would have better reason to describe Marx as a man of the 19th century, as Sperber also did in his biography. But as the recent profusion of biographies itself suggests, Marx's life exerts an abiding fascination today. At the same time, Marxist thought is also enjoying a renaissance.

The allure of Marx in our moment is no longer that he's regarded as the infallible prophet that Stedman Jones polemicizes against in his introduction. In the West, Marx the lawgiver disappeared, even as an article of orthodoxy, decades ago; by the mid-1970s, when Stedman Jones was still at the *New Left Review*, the journal's editor, Perry Anderson, wrote, "The immense intellectual and political respect we owe to Marx and Engels is incompatible with any piety towards them." This attitude is, if anything, even more pronounced today among leftist intellectuals and activists who carry out their work with Marx in mind. Marxism endures as a research program and as a political project, useful to present struggles more for a battery of inescapable questions than for a few settled conclusions.

If, in these conditions, we are still drawn to the story of Marx's life, it's for reasons other than his authority. Amid trying and precarious circumstances, he combined philosophical penetration, literary and journalistic gifts, and revolutionary commitment to a singular degree. And yet the enormous dimensions of his undertaking meant that he could achieve hardly a fraction of what he attempted; in all that he did, he bequeathed tasks to later generations. In this sense, precisely the fullness of his life—as writer, thinker, and politician—ensured its incompleteness and makes it the inheritance of his successors. In the English-speaking world, the nearest contemporary analog might be the writer, artist, revolutionary (and pioneering British Marxist) William Morris, who also left behind a lasting body of writing and the image of a transformed society. The historian E.P. Thompson wrote a superb biography of Morris the last sentence of which makes an even better epitaph for Marx: "He is one of those men whom history will never overtake." ■

The Muse of History

I. CLIO

"let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth"

The past's fantasia cannot hold or let
us go. Flycatcher catching itself in
the pool's glint gaze, Samarkand where Tamerlane
hewed his bloody thread, unspooling across
the hacked-to-pieces field, a triple axle
splitting Clio's cataract, muddy then
clear, the opal of a rain-sheened open
eye that looks at nothing but yet holds
our look.

Euterpe, my head is in my hands.
Flies speckle the field. The sizer, hissing,
straps dynamite to a waist no bigger
than a fly's wing span, but the daughters
of Babylon do not tarry—the road flares
burn blue, bog irises, erect, quivering.

II. CHARLESTON

"How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?"

The coiled snake sheds and eats itself, its bitten
tail an omphalos, the arrowhead's
stung fire hitting the scorched bulls-eye,
the crooning singer stopped mid-note, his silent
measure hung in air, a pillow-slip, cotton
turning to cloud, immeasurable—
the President, singing.

At Appomattox,
when General Lee said to Ely S. Parker,
a Senecan, who recorded the terms
of the surrender, "It is good to have
a real American here," he replied, "Sir,
we are all Americans." The century
folds, a white flag rent with frazzled tears.
Let my demons rage so I know who they are.

III. THE GONE WORLD

"O daughter of Babylon"

The calico licks each knuckle to a moonscape,
her velvet pupils two quotation marks.

What's the opposite of oxygen?

Pure carbonation, the children trail their cartoon
balloons past where last night, sleepless on
my duck blind-barge, I steered the ragged sofa
across Persia's raveled coast and ran aground.
Cat and fiddle, dish and spoon, their voices
tinsel, threading time's slit-eye needle—
Does the moon hold water? The moon, or our
idea of it? Shall I come kiss you? *Yes, please.*
Fugitive, the cut-throat sparrow captive
bangs its head and takes the future's measure,
an echo climbing Eurydice's stair.

IV. AT HOME

"we hanged our harps upon the willows"

Every moment's a time bomb. The scorpion
inside a cage of flame will strike himself,
two of them will kill each other, black
carapace glimpsed through the needle's eye.
The flame darting where you laid it down
is Giotto's circle lit with paraffin,
your halo full of whirring bees. Come, lost
one, out of the shadows—the children's
sparklers constellate the sequined lawn,
Orion's arrows pinning fallen stars.
No man meets me. I strut the stair, half-dare
myself to miss the tread, shy spider,
all hands and legs—*If you don't see me,*
you ain't gonna have to wonder why.

V. INSIDE OUT (for Michael Vincent Miller)

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem"

Say what you see. I see a door. *A door?*
Is it open or closed? It is opening.
No, it's closing. Now it's closed, I think.
I think it's closed. *Where is the door? What*
sort of door is it? An inside door,
the door of a room. *Which room?* When
I was a child. A slipper of light.
But it's the wrong door! *Is there another door?*
When Charlemagne invited Alcuin
of York to Aachen to supervise the new
clear handwriting of God, the herded letters
jumped the fence like lambs. Moss on the door,
the hinges rusted shut, damp green on green.
I put my ear to it, the thick plank vibrating.

CYNTHIA ZARIN

A 2015 rally against police brutality in Newark.

A. KATZ/SHUTTERSTOCK, INC.

ORIGINS OF A MOVEMENT

A new book charts the rise and resilience of Black Lives Matter

by NATHALIE BAPTISTE

To many, the Black Lives Matter movement started in August 2014, when protests erupted in Ferguson, Missouri, after a white police officer shot and killed an unarmed black teenager. But while the movement coalesced around the street marches in Ferguson and then spread to places like Baltimore, Cleveland, and Chicago, the declaration that supplied its name was coined considerably earlier: in 2013, shortly after George Zimmerman was acquitted of murder in the death of Trayvon Martin.

On the day of Zimmerman's acquittal, a Bay Area activist by the name of Alicia Garza took to Facebook. "I continue to be surprised at how little Black lives matter," she wrote. "And I will continue that. [S]top giving up on black life." The death of Michael Brown in Ferguson may have been the national tipping point, the moment when Americans were jolted awake by this new rallying cry. But it was Garza and her fellow activists, Opal Tometi and Patrisse Cullors, who helped popularize the phrase as a hashtag on Twitter and Tumblr one year earlier. Movements often have these kinds of indeterminate beginnings—several, at different moments in time, until they get everyone's attention—and today, in fact, there are so many iterations of Black Lives Matter that it is perhaps most accurate to describe the protests not as a movement but as a set of movements, each with different locally based groups, and without a clear leader or group of leaders.

"They Can't Kill Us All"
Ferguson, Baltimore, and a New Era in America's Racial Justice Movement
By Wesley Lowery
Little, Brown and Co. 256 pp. $27

In his new book *"They Can't Kill Us All,"* *Washington Post* reporter Wesley Lowery sets out not only to track the latest developments in Black Lives Matter, but also to search for the movement's deeper roots. For Lowery, although BLM protests originated with the recent police killings in the United States—his book takes its title from a sign spotted in Ferguson—he also wants us to

Nathalie Baptiste is a journalist based in Washington, DC, who writes about criminal justice, policing reform, and politics. Her work has appeared in The American Prospect *and* Mother Jones.

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recognize that the politics animating these protests have long been around. Lowery traces the movement's origins to the hope of a "postracial" America that was symbolized by Barack Obama's election, and which has now proved to be little more than a phantasm of campaign rhetoric and political punditry. Having once hoped that the election of the first black president meant that the tide of race relations in America might begin to turn, many young black Americans were forced to face the reality—by one high-profile police shooting after another—that living in a world in which they're treated like their white contemporaries remains an impossibility.

The persistence of police violence against young black people, and the often-racist backlash that followed Obama's election, initiated this new generation into a cycle that has characterized America's fraught racial history: A period of optimism born out of a spectacular political moment—the Emancipation Proclamation; Reconstruction; the civil-rights movement of the 1960s—is then followed by a period of reaction and retrenchment. This narrative of youthful idealism followed by frustration and despair is the crux of Lowery's book, and he believes that the second half of this cycle is now in full swing. But while Black Lives Matter arose in a moment of disappointment and grief, it has for the past four years also helped to inaugurate a new era in the struggle for racial justice.

Wesley Lowery began his career on the metro beat at *The Boston Globe*. He mostly covered murders and street crime and also reported on the Boston Marathon bombings. But his ambition was to cover national politics, and when he moved to *The Washington Post*, he set his sights on the 2016 presidential race.

Lowery's beat shifted, though, shortly after Brown's death and the protests that followed. The *Post* sent him to Ferguson; he got arrested even while brandishing a press pass, and soon found a new beat: police brutality and the protests that were emerging in its wake. "Not since the Boston Marathon bombings a year and a half earlier had I covered a story for which there was such intense, immediate appetite," he writes, later adding: "Police shootings aren't uncommon, and as a reporter who is professionally acquainted with hundreds of other reporters, images of an angry vigil of grieving residents weren't particularly out of place in my social media feeds. But even in those early posts, Mike Brown's death just felt different. The crowds gathered near this young man's body emanated a guttural anguish. It was clear even then, for those paying attention, that this communal anger would not be easily muted or contained."

"They Can't Kill Us All" is the outcome of Lowery's past two years covering this anguish. He spends the first three-quarters of his book focused on several high-profile police killings: Brown in Ferguson; Tamir Rice in Cleveland; Walter Scott in North Charleston, South Carolina; and Freddie Gray in Baltimore. But while his book is ostensibly about these deaths and the local protests that they inspired, Lowery also has larger ambitions, ranging widely across race relations and racial violence in the United States, including the slaying of nine black churchgoers in Charleston, South Carolina, by a young white man; the removal of the Confederate flag at the South Carolina statehouse by an African-American woman named Bree Newsome; and the emergence of a national movement, or set of movements, responding to the call to arms of Black Lives Matter.

Lowery insists that the story of Black Lives Matter's roots and intentions is often misunderstood at best and, at worst, purposefully muddied in order to discredit the movement and its leaders. Conservative talking heads have likened BLM and the young black people protesting police brutality to the Ku Klux Klan, arguing that the protesters are perpetuating violence against the police and, more broadly, against white people. Liberal pundits have also been guilty of misrepresenting the movement, seeking to link it to the Democrats—even though many of its leaders have made it clear that BLM isn't tied to any political party.

Lowery's book therefore tries to offer a corrective: Movements often have many different origin stories, and his careful behind-the-scenes reporting offers insight into how the various grassroots campaigns converged into what is now often referred to as a single protest movement. He also wants us to discard whatever preconceived notions we have about Black Lives Matter and learn about the nuances and complexities involved in the making of a movement. What happened in Ferguson, Cleveland, and other cities wasn't anything new; it was just slowly being unveiled to the rest of the public. For centuries, black people in America have struggled for equality, and Black Lives Matter is yet another extension of that struggle. In fact, as BLM has emerged as a national movement, it has become linked with many other issues related to racial justice, from voting rights and mass incarceration to economic inequality and barriers to health care and education—all issues that concern the broader American left.

Many mainstream-media outlets have

missed this larger context. Instead of trying to understand how the protests in St. Louis or Baltimore are linked to a much longer history of political struggle, journalists often descend on these cities to get a sensational photo or to break breathless news reports about the confrontations between police and protesters. Rather than looking at the long-standing patterns of police harassment or examining the ways in which these municipalities rely on the frequent ticketing of their black citizens for funds, many newspapers have run stories that indict the victims of police violence, not the officers who killed them or the larger system in which they operate. "And by focusing on the character of the victim," Lowery writes, "we inadvertently take the focus off the powerful and instead train our eyes and judgment on the powerless."

Lowery also takes the media to task for overstating the importance of their role in social movements. It's true that without journalists covering the civil-rights movement, many Americans might not have been persuaded of the justness of its cause. But Lowery believes that reporters often exaggerate their influence on the shaping of social movements.

One can hear a bit of self-criticism here as well. After all, Lowery is himself a journalist who hopes that his reporting may help provide a fairer and more accurate account of Black Lives Matter. In this way, these critical asides come not from a frustrated outsider, but from a respected mainstream journalist attempting to change the way his colleagues report on the movement as a whole.

The book tells a bleak story, but Lowery concludes on a relatively optimistic note. Although the nation's future looks uncertain and there is much work left to do, in the end, he insists, both the rallying cry and the activism of Black Lives Matter will endure. (Of course, Lowery wrote his book before the election of Donald Trump, so he can be forgiven for not adopting a more ominous tone.) And by certain measures, the movement has been a notable success: BLM protests have been able to put and keep the issue of police brutality at the forefront of the national conversation; the movement has forced politicians to begin to speak the language of Black Lives Matter; and because of public pressure in the wake of Ferguson and Baltimore, a small number of police officers have been charged with shooting unarmed citizens.

But the police killings of unarmed black Americans continue. Each new shooting has seemed like a turning point to activists, an incident far too egregious to be ignored. But almost all of the high-profile police killings have led neither to prison sentences nor reforms. In South Carolina, Michael Slager, the white cop who shot an unarmed and fleeing Walter Scott in the back, was tried for murder, but the jurors couldn't reach a verdict and the judge was forced to declare a mistrial, allowing Slager to be released pending a new trial. A few months after Scott was killed, University of Cincinnati Police Officer Ray Tensing fatally shot Sam DuBose after pulling him over for a missing license plate—but, as in the case of Scott's killing, the jury deadlocked and a mistrial was declared.

Protesters march during a 2014 rally in Washington, DC.

RENA SCHILD / SHUTTERSTOCK, INC.

More cases in which justice will be delayed or denied are certainly on the horizon; for each gain in police reform, there will be another glaring example of why more is needed. The cycle between hope and despair today seems to be in overdrive; each morning we awake to a country that is simultaneously more disheartening and more hopeful than the day before. The election of a president who ran a xenophobic, race-baiting, and ethno-nationalist campaign will mean even greater accelerations, as new protest movements emerge, only to find the space for social change dramatically shrinking.

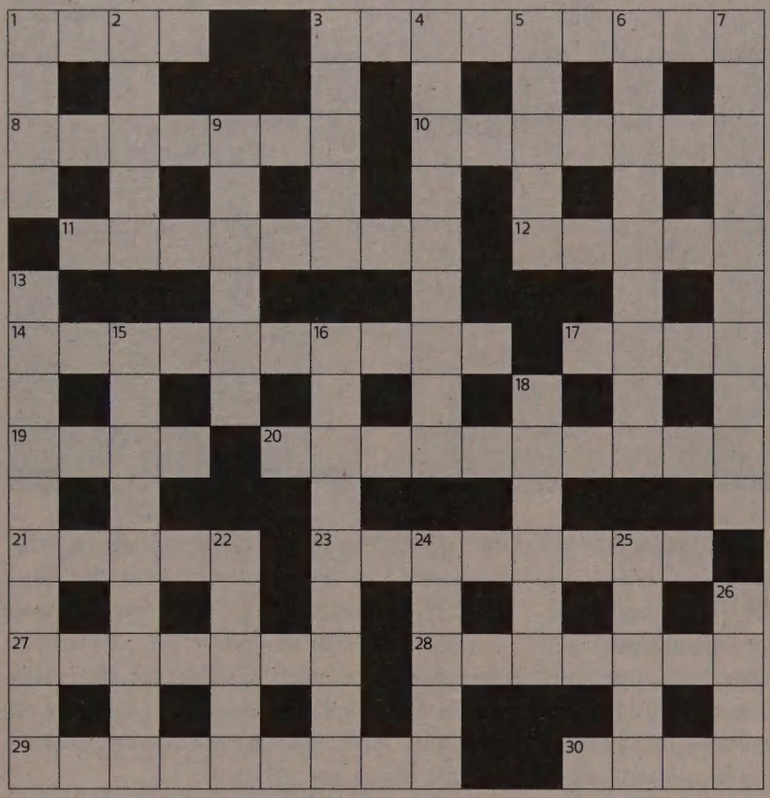
In this way, the new era for America's racial-justice movement seems not unlike previous ones. In the 1960s, while black Americans often protested injustice and police brutality with rallies and marches, white Americans terrorized these mostly peaceful protests with threats and acts of vigilante violence that went ignored by the local authorities. Likewise, while politicians like John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson helped usher in sweeping civil-rights reforms, they were followed by the likes of Richard Nixon, Barry Goldwater, and George Wallace, who responded to these reforms with the dog-whistle demonization of black people and anyone who stood with them. Plenty of Americans let their disdain for the civil-rights activists be known then—often with the same kind of rhetoric and images used against Black Lives Matter.

Because he's a reporter first, Lowery writes much of *"They Can't Kill Us All"* in the evenhanded and straightforward register that one expects of contemporary reporting. But hints of emotion nonetheless break through. At one point, Lowery confesses that he was close to crying when he was assigned to fly out to North Charleston after Scott's death. "I didn't want to get on this plane," he writes, "I didn't want to spend days telling yet another story of a black man gunned down." But despite his growing sense of dread as he continues to report on the police shootings, Lowery's book is written mostly from a position of hope. While many of his peers have advanced a grimmer view when discussing the cycles of African-American history, Lowery finds a cause for optimism in our era's developing racial-justice movement. After the grand jury in Ferguson chose not to indict Officer Darren Wilson, many warned of rioting; instead, protesters took to the streets in droves to denounce this miscarriage of justice.

As we settle into the next four years of Trump's presidency, it's hard to embrace fully Lowery's sense of hope and possibility. But the quiet optimism underlying his book is itself an act of protest in our dark times. As the Ferguson protesters, quoting Kendrick Lamar, insisted to Lowery: "We gon' be alright." ■

Puzzle No. 3422

JOSHUA KOSMAN AND HENRI PICCIOTTO



ACROSS

1 What comes after I imitate mockery (4)

3 In the absence of objective fact, send leader of team ahead of Yankee slugger (4-5)

8 Talking software in Panama, for instance, and beginning to babble in bed (7)

10 Rotate front of skull 90 degrees with radioactive element (7)

11 Monstrous giant taking on most of tedious, mature behavior (8)

12 & **21** Philip and Jimmy (two musicians) in a precipitous position for women and minorities (5,5)

14 Group of workers left a foot deformity lined with gold (5,5)

17 You and I getting approval for being aware of social injustice (4)

19 Proper athletic event (4)

20 Entered illegally, with locks broken by personal assistants (10)

21 see 12

23 Racist movement sounds totally unoriginal (3-5)

27 Dancer, perhaps stepping back, missing violin finale and sounding more like an oboe (7)

28 Former Attorney General invested in sweetheart's idea for a massive Defense Department expansion? (7)

29 & **30** "Fight back frequently!"—cry for attention contained in valuable 2016 honorific awarded by the editors of the Oxford Dictionaries to one of nine finalists in the completed grid (4,2,3,4)

DOWN

1 Money for nothing (4)

2 Plan initially devised to create a pattern (5)

3 Place outside of Tripoli for naked babies (5)

4 Doctors eating a piece of tasty fish (9)

5 Badly want family-friendly sound from a banjo (5)

6 Bearing one child at a time, finally, you almost get excited about small quantity of liquor (9)

7 Some deaths ravaged family dwellings (10)

9 Pick up rock and toss jacket (6)

13 A South American capital beginning to comfort green, inexperienced actress (3,7)

15 Porter, e.g., accommodating ruler in Rome, Italy—briefly an advocate of separation from Europe (9)

16 Vermin allegedly from Scandinavia—or carried by returning sailor (what a bore) (6,3)

18 Hispanic of any gender is careless to swallow metal (6)

22 Chip: fit or out of shape? (5)

24 At first, throw a garden tool in the lake (5)

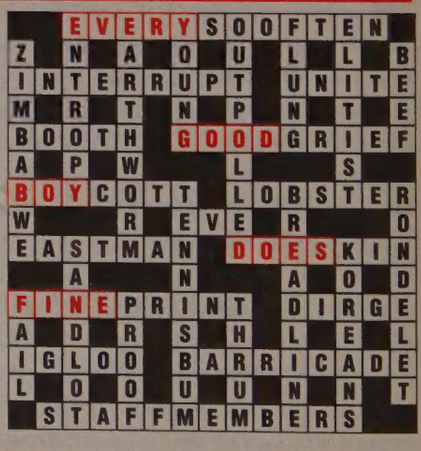
25 In Denmark, a cozy quality (like a soufflé) rises after hours (5)

26 Called up to growl (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3421

ACROSS **1** E + VERY + SO(O)FTEN **9** anag. **10** anag. **11** BOOT + H **12** GOO(DGRIE)F (*dirge* anag.) **13** alternate letters **15** LOBS + TER[n] **18** 2 defs. **19** anag. **21** DO(E + SK)N **23** FIN + EPRINT (anag.) **26** rev. hidden **27** I + GLOO[m] **28** BARRI(CAD)E **29** STAF (rev.) + FM + EMBERS

DOWN **1** ENTR(OP)Y **2** EARTHW (anag.) + OR + M **3** YO + UNG (rev.) **4** anag. **5** F + LUNG **6** ELIT (rev.) + 1ST **7** ZI(MBA)B + WE (*biz* rev.) **8** BEE + F **14** TEN(N)ISBUM (*must be in* anag.) **16** pun **17** RON(DEL)ET (rev.) **20** hidden **22** anag. **23** F + AIL **24** PRO + OF **25** hidden



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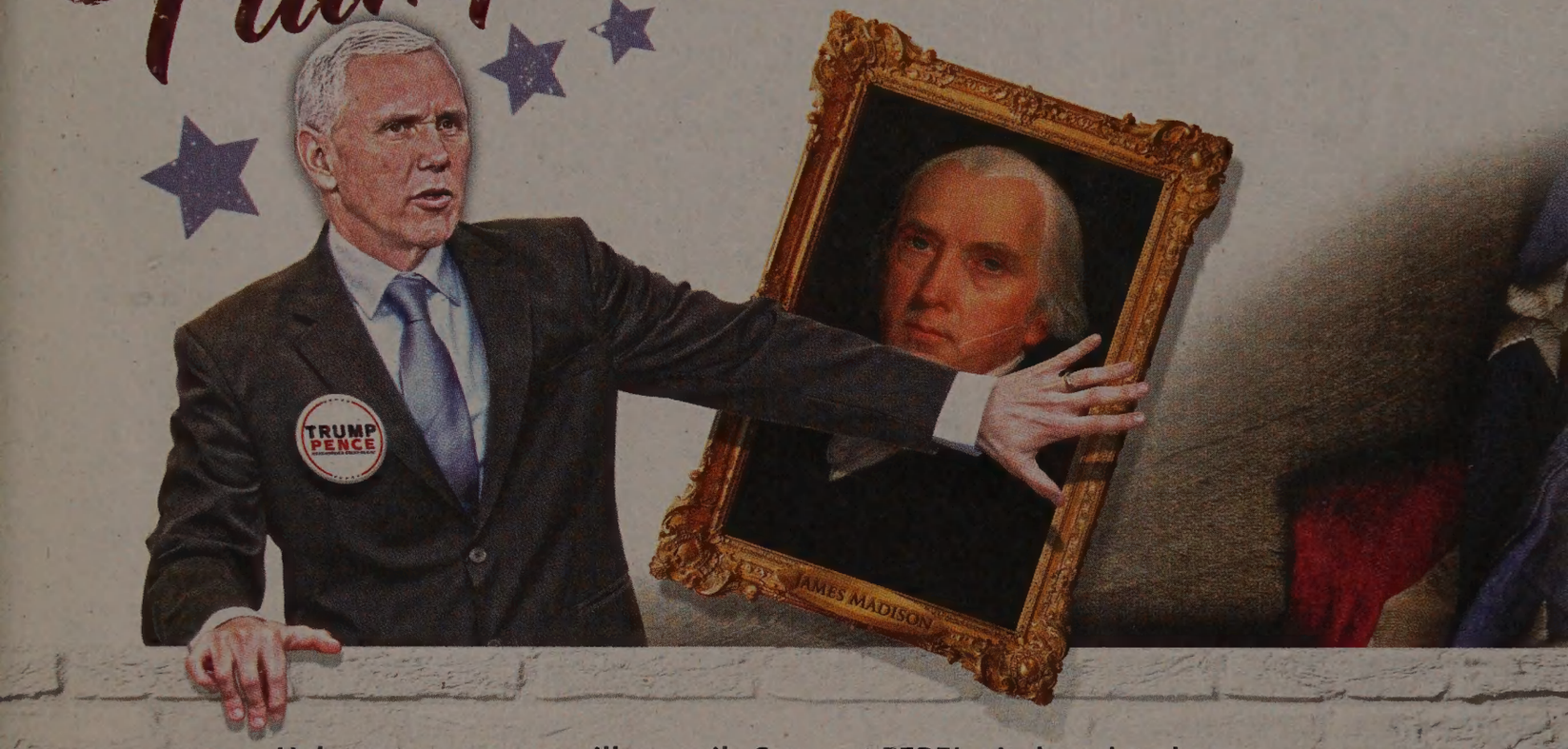

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